THE VOICE OF SPAIN

(SPEECHES & ARTICLES)

DOLORES IBARRURI

(LA PASIONARIA)



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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

"Should there be any re-actionary generals who, egged on by gentlemen like Gil Robles and Calvo Sotelo, rise in rebellion against the power of the State, let them know that there will be soldiers of the people who will be in a position to put the generals in their places. . . ."

It's Dolores Ibarruri, (popularly called Pasionaria) speaking in defence of the Republic during the Spanish Civil War of 1936—'39. She is no prophet and does not possess second sight; what led her to realise the truth was consciousness of her class.

She rose from out of the anonymous masses of the Asturian miners. Her forefathers descended into the gloom of the pits so that the rich might have riches. This memory dates back farther than the ancestral line of the Duke of Medinaceli. 'The major part of the twenty thousand pounds in gold which comes from Hispania to Rome is drawn from the Asturian mines'. So wrote Pliny in the first decade of Spanish chronology. Nero's chronicler also relates that three Roman legions were necessary to quell a rising of the mountain folk of Asturias.

It is from this race that Dolores Ibarruri is descended. She is the daughter of a miner and the wife of a miner. During the years of her youth she was in service in the houses of the wealthy. She was a waitress at many inns and washed the fine silk and linen of her mistress at the Biscay Sea-side resorts. Her own was of wool. *Two Different Fabrics.*

At seventeen Dolores was a Socialist. But in 1920 she went over to the Communists. The victory of the October Revolution

in Russia determined this course. Since then, she has been in the centre of the movement.

In a reply to a question as to what she had been doing since 1920, Dolores said : "I have been arrested nine times ; three times I have fled, once dressed up as a nun ... I have faught in a hundred strikes. I have been a propagandist and a delegate on the Workers' Aid Committee. What I have done is nothing beyond the ordinary. ... Hundreds of women have done the same ... "

Hundreds of women, indeed !

France has her Joan of Arc, but Spain has her heroic daughters who preferred, in their fight for freedom, to be 'widows of heroes than wives of cowards.' Joan was canonised because her martyrdom had served a victorious cause. These daughters of Spain are, however, apt to be forgotten because the army of the people had been crushed.

THE VOICE OF SPAIN, which contains the articles and speeches of Pasionaria between 1936-'38, is an attempt at resurrection—resurrection of all that these brave defenders of the Spanish Republic stood for :

"Still freedom yet, thy banner torn but flying,
Streams like a thunder-storm against the wind."

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DANGER ! TO ARMS !

*Radio Broadcast, Madrid, July 19, 1936**

WORKERS, anti-fascists, and labouring people !

Rise as one man ! Prepare to defend the Republic, national freedom and the democratic liberties won by the people !

Everybody now knows from the communications of the government and of the People's Front how serious the situation is. The workers, together with the troops which have remained loyal to the Republic, are manfully and enthusiastically carrying on the struggle in Morocco and the Canary Islands.

Under the slogan, "Fascism shall not pass, the October butchers shall not pass !" communists, socialists, anarchists and republicans, soldiers and all the forces loyal to the will of the people, are routing the traitorous rebels, who have trampled in the mud and betrayed their vaunted military honour.

The whole country is shocked by the actions of these villains. They want with fire and sword to turn democratic Spain, the Spain of the people, into a hell of terrorism and torture. But they shall not pass !

All Spain has risen to the struggle. In Madrid the people have come out into the streets, lending strength to the government by their determination and fighting spirit, so that it may utterly exterminate the reactionary fascist rebels.

Young men and women, sound the alarm ! Rise and join the battle !

* The fascist revolt in Spain broke out on July 18, 1936.—*Ed.*

Women, heroic women of the people! Remember the heroism of the Asturian women! And you, too, fight side by side with your menfolk, together with them defend the bread and tranquillity of your children whose lives are in danger!

Soldiers, sons of the people! Stand steadfastly as one man on the side of the government, on the side of the working people, on the side of the People's Front, on the side of your fathers, brothers and comrades! March with them to victory! Fight for the Spain of February 16!

Working people of all political trends! The government has placed valuable means of defence into our hands in order that we may perform our duty with honour, in order that we may save Spain from the disgrace that would be brought upon her by a victory of the bloodthirsty October butchers. Not one of you must hesitate for a single moment, and tomorrow we shall be able to celebrate our victory. Be prepared for action! Every worker, every anti-fascist, must regard himself as a mobilized soldier!

People of Catalonia, the Basque country and Galicia, and all Spaniards! Rise in the defence of the democratic republic, rise to consolidate the victory won by the people on February 16! The Communist Party calls upon all of you to join the struggle. It calls upon all working people to take their place in the struggle in order completely to smash the enemies of the republic and of the freedom of the people.

Long live the People's Front!

Long live the alliance of all anti-fascists!

Long live the People's Republic!

Three Speeches by Pasionaria
Madrid-Barcelona, 1936

FASCISM SHALL NOT PASS

Speech Delivered at a Mass Meeting Organized by the People's Front at the Mestal Stadium, Valencia, August 23, 1936 where 100,000 people were present

COMRADES, people of Valencia ! You must not be surprised if at this deeply moving moment, when I see before me this huge mass of people filled with sacred enthusiasm and the determination to defend their national freedom, I may perhaps be unable to express the feelings that overwhelm me, that well up from the bottom of my heart, and clothe them in simple and convincing words. This is an occasion when I should like more than ever to possess the eloquence to express the full force of my convictions, so as to prove to you how necessary it is to unite our ranks more closely than ever—for the danger today, too, is greater than ever.

I have come to you in these tragic and gloomy hours, when the fate of Spain and especially the future of the working masses is being decided. I have come to you, my mouth filled with the acrid taste of gunpowder, my mind filled with the impressions of the difficulties facing our comrades who are fighting on the summits and slopes of the Guadarramas, who realize the importance of our struggle and who are prepared to die rather than fall into the clutches of fascism. I have come to you from the field of battle, from that great fight which is assuming the character of a heroic epic, for we entered battle armed only with enthusiasm, self-sacrifice and supreme devotion to the cause of the people in order to fight an enemy

furnished with all the means of warfare, which he has stolen from the people. . . .

If, when entering the firing line to fight the enemy who is threatening our national liberty, we have such enthusiasm in the rear, then I say to you, the working people of Valencia, what I said when I saw the weapons in the hands of the militia, when I saw the rifles in the hands of the troops loyal to the government :

FASCISM SHALL NOT PASS !

Fascism shall not pass because the wall of bodies with which we have barred its way is today strengthened by weapons of defence we have captured from the enemy—a cowardly enemy, because he has not the ideals which lead us into battle. The enemy therefore has no dash and impetuosity, whereas we are borne on the wings of our ideals, of our love, not for the Spain which is dying together with the enemy, but for the Spain we want to have—a democratic Spain.

When we speak of Spain, we mean not only the name ; we mean a democratic Spain not the Spain which is clinging to her old traditions ; we mean a Spain which will give the peasants land, which will socialize industry under the control of the workers, which will introduce social insurance so that the worker may not be condemned to a homeless old age ; we mean a Spain which will completely and comprehensively, and in a revolutionary spirit, solve the economic problems that lie at the foundation of all revolutions. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

On all fronts communists, anarchists, socialists and republicans are fighting shoulder to shoulder. We have also been joined by non-party people from town and country, because they too have realized what a victory for fascism would mean to Spain.

The struggle, started within the frontiers of our country, is already assuming an international character, because the working people of the whole world know that if fascism were to triumph in Spain, every democratic country in the world would be confronted with the fascist danger. The working people have realized this, as is borne out by the messages of solidarity we are constantly receiving from all parts of the world. International fascism, too, has realized the significance of the struggle of the Spanish people against the enemies who have violated their oath of loyalty to the country and to the country's flag. These violators of their vows have broken their promises and have rebelled in vile alliance with seditionary priests and debauched sons of the aristocracy, and are committing endless crimes in all the inhabited places through which they pass. One needs the brush of Goya and the eloquent pen of Blasco Ibanez to depict the horrors and revolting crimes committed by these elements led by arrogant fascist generals who have long ago revealed who they are and what they are capable of.

(*Pasionaria betrays symptoms of extreme fatigue, and despite great efforts to control herself, it is clear that she is finding it hard to speak.*)

Dante's Inferno is but a pale reflection of what happens in places through which these modern vandals pass. The slaughtered children and old people, the raped and hacked bodies of women, the demolished monuments of art. . . . Wherever they pass they sow death and desolation. And what is taking place in the districts captured by the fascists would have taken place all over Spain, if they had not been opposed by a people inspired by faith in its own strength. . . .

(*Pasionaria's voice grows weaker. It is with great effort that she can continue. The audience perceives her condition and calls to her to stop.*

However, Pasionaria continues her speech. She is listened to with strained attention although her voice is scarcely audible. Profound silence reigns in the stadium. One hundred thousand people listen with bated breath.

Pasionaria says that the chief thing is to maintain and still further consolidate unity, to strengthen the People's Front and to give greater assistance to the government, so as to enable it to crush the criminal revolt.)

We shall very soon achieve victory and return to our children. . . .

(*These last words are heard only by the platform. A storm of applause. The audience of one hundred thousand Valencia workers cheer and applaud Pasionaria for several minutes.*)

Mundo Obrero, August, 24, 1936

BETTER DIE STANDING, THAN LIVE KNEELING !

Speech Delivered at a Mass Meeting in the Winter Velodrome, Paris, September 3, 1936

PASIONARIA ON THE PLATFORM

WHEN the secretary of the Unitary Confederation of Labour called upon Pasionaria to speak the whole audience was stirred to its feet and greeted the glory-wreathed representative of the Spanish people with the loud strains of the "Internationale." This was followed by a minute's profound silence in memory of the Spaniards who had died fighting for the cause of their people.

Pasionaria begins to speak. Her voice at once captivates the audience.

"We have come here, people of Paris, to you who stormed and took the Bastille and who fought for the cause of the Commune. . . ."

She stretches forth her hands and pleads by gesture and voice, which at moments of wrath and disgust becomes almost hoarse. Thousands of eyes are transfixed by this inspiring figure, bathed in the white beams of the spotlights.

Pasionaria's face is expressive of suffering and struggling Spain herself. The people will long remember those braids of black hair framing the strong brow, her deep-set eyes and the bitter smile on her lips. These people have had the good fortune to see one of the world's most outstanding women, one whose fiery courage and militant spirit personify heroic Spain.

A note of pain is heard in Pasionaria's voice when she recalls her comrades who have been tortured to death ; of wrath when she exposes the traitors, and the fascists who are arming them ; of hope when she speaks of the heroism of the men and women of the Spanish people. It is a voice one cannot forget. The passion in it reaches its highest pitch when she exclaims :

"We need aeroplanes ! . . . We need machine guns ! . . . We need guns ! . . ."

HER SPEECH

Words cannot express the profound impression caused by the stirring speech of our magnificent Pasionaria. It was the voice of the fighters of Irun, Oviedo and Malaga that came from her lips ; it was they who were appealing for help to the Spanish people, to the champions of the Great Revolution. It was the fighters of Badajoz and other battlefields who were calling to the French people not to allow their sister country to perish in an unequal struggle.

Tears streamed from the eyes of men and women as they listened to Pasionaria, and all hearts contracted with a spasm of pain and rage.

"People of democratic Spain, people who are fighting for the liberty and rights of man !"—thundered the voice of Pasionaria, "the whole Spanish people—socialists communists and anarchists alike—have taken up arms against the fascist revolt. Fascism shall not pass !

"Better die standing, than live kneeling !"

Her voice takes on a deeper note :

"But the enemies of the Republic were able to kindle revolt only because the Republic was too generous to them.

"The fascist leaders intrenched themselves in posts in advance. Their preparations for armed action had been going

on for a long time. The organization of the anti-republican elements had begun under Gil Robles. Thus the fascists had made ready the forts of Guadarrama near Madrid, and had prepared stores of arms and munitions. The same was true in Valladolid, Burgos and Valencia. That is why they were able to exterminate thousands of unarmed Spanish workers."

Pasionaria spoke of the incompetence and hypocrisy of the fascist generals, whom the Morrocan troops were able to defeat ; yet now they were enlisting against the Spanish people these very same Moroccans by promises of plunder and permission to loot. They were using as their instruments the dregs of human society, the criminals and convicts of the foreign legion.

Our Pasionaria then went on to describe the supreme heroism of the Spanish fighters.

"Our unarmed people, whose only weapon is their heroism, are now fighting the fascists."

The audience is overcome with horror at the recital of the fascist atrocities :

"They slaughtered the whole population of Badajoz. Of the 500 inhabitants of Bailen they killed 270. In the villages they drenched the cottages with paraffin and burned women and children alive.

"The raping of women is a common thing in places occupied by the rebels. General Queipo de Llano announced by radio that he would send his soldiers to the villages which are famed for their handsome women, since he wanted his soldiers to have beautiful females."

Pasionaria issued a fiery call for solidarity :

"The Spanish people will win, for they are fighting for their ideal. But the Spanish people, who prize the sympathy and solidarity of the French people, have learned with bitterness that the government of the French Republic, the

government of this country of liberty and revolution, will not come to the aid of the lawful government of Spain.

"You must aid the Spanish people! They are fighting on the front of liberty and defending the cause of peace against fascism, the fomenters of war."

Pasionaria appealed to the French mothers and to all French women to aid the mothers and women of Spain who are sending their sons and husbands to the front to fight for a just cause:

"Beware! Today it is we, but tomorrow your turn will come! Help us, let your menfolk give us arms—heroism in our struggle is not enough. We need rifles, aeroplanes and guns to withstand the forces of the fascist rebels.

"We are defending the cause of liberty and peace. We need guns and aeroplanes for our struggle!"

The huge mass of people that filled the Velodrome listened to Pasionaria with bated breath and beating hearts. Her voice reflected every shade of feeling.

Although she spoke in Spanish, the people understood her when she spoke of the heroism of the Spanish people and the bloodthirsty barbarism of the rebel generals.

Exclamations of condolence and sympathy were heard on all hands accompanied by cries of greeting to Pasionaria who so magnificently personifies the courage and valour of a people who are fighting for their freedom.

The hall shook at the outburst of cheering that greeted the conclusion of her speech, into which she had poured all her sorrow and ardent love of her people . . . The whole audience rose at one accord, as though electrified, and gave expression to the will of millions in the cry:

"Guns and aeroplanes for Spain!"

Humanite. September, 13-14, 1936

SHE was a volunteer, a member of the civilian militia, wearing the blue blouse of a workman. She clasped her rifle with ardour, as though it were not a weapon of death but a much desired plaything. Amidst the groups of merry militia men who were going smilingly to fight and perhaps to die, she marched in silence, serious and self-engrossed. A light burned in her eyes. They expressed hatred, inflexible determination and courage. I approached her and asked :

"Where are you from ? '

"Toledo."

"Why are you at the front ?"

She was silent for a few moments, and then answered :

"To fight fascism, to crush the enemies of the working people and . . . to avenge the death of my brother."

"Was he killed ?"

"Yes, he was a soldier and a communist. When the rebellion broke out they wanted to make him, like many other soldiers, fight our brothers and go against the Republic. He refused and they shot him like a dog. I have come here to join the ranks, to take the place he would have occupied, and to avenge his death, to show the fascist scoundrels that when men die, women take their place. We are fighting with the same enthusiasm and courage as the men. We have learned from them how to die. It is better to die than to live in the fascist hell in which the workers of other countries are suffering, isn't that so, comrade ?"

It seemed to me that she was asking this question of herself, or rather that she was answering a question that rose from the depth of her being.

I questioned her comrades, curious to know how she behaved in battle. They spoke of her with admiration. She was the first wherever the danger was greatest, risking her life with astonishing calmness.

A fighting woman !

She, like the other girls and women who are challenging death, and many of whom are meeting death, is reviving the tradition of the heroines who throughout our history have fought for independence and a constitution—the heroines of Sagunto and Numantia, La Vaillida, Augustina of Aragon, Maria Pita, Manuela Sanchez, Mariana Pineda. Women have always played a prominent part, supporting the men in the struggle for liberty and showing them by their example that it is better to die than to bow to the butchers and oppressors of the people.

The heights of Guadarrama, Madrid and many other cities have witnessed the heroism of women who are battling a strong and brutal enemy. They march to death merrily singing. They cheer those who have lost heart, infuse courage into them and inspire them with the fighting spirit. So it was at Alto de Leon, in Somosierra and elsewhere. These places, drenched in the blood of many a nameless hero, will shine with an inextinguishable flame in the history of our country's struggle against reaction.

With them will be bound up the revolutionary traditions of our people, with them, the women who are fighting at the front, who are donating their blood to save the wounded, who, forgetting their own fatigue, watch at the bedside of wounded heroes, who died exclaming : "Long live liberty !"

We dip our colours in honour of you, dear women comrades, who march into battle together with the men.

All honour to you, women anti-fascists !

Defense, September 4, 1936

OUR BATTLE-CRY HAS BEEN HEARD BY THE WHOLE WORLD !

DAY is drawing on the heights of the Sierra Guadarrama. Pages of history, full of heroic enthusiasm, are being written in the blood of our glorious fighters on the slopes of these mountains. This is the first time that the hearts of our soldiers are filled with so profound a sense of class-consciousness. Workers and peasants are fighting shoulder to shoulder at the front. The ice has been broken. The walls of hatred erected by the exploiters and parasites have been razed to the ground.

The fields of our country are watered with blood and sown with the corpses of fallen fighters. But a rich harvest is promised in the early future. Mothers do not weep over the bodies of their fallen sons. They are proud of having given birth to heroes. Wives and sisters hasten to the front to take the places of husbands and brothers who have been killed or wounded. They too are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the cause of freedom, for only one thought inspires them : Fascism must be defeated !

Behind the lines, in the rear, every man is at his post : weapons are being forged, motor trucks are being covered with armour, guns and ammunition are being manufactured for the equipment of the Spanish people's army, which is the body and soul of the people. For the children of militia men who have fallen at the front homes are being organized where they are being brought up with loving care.

The men and women of Spain have risen in a body, inspired by a heroic, magnificent and powerful urge. The Spanish people gaze at the world from the heights of the Pyrenees and, proud

of the courage of their sons and daughters, proclaim in a loud voice : Fascism will be defeated !

Our voice is heard in every part of the world ; it is heard by the broad masses of the people. In the Soviet Union and in France, in Mexico and Norway, in Cuba and the Argentine—in all these countries the people have understood the significance of our struggle for freedom and democracy.

The victory of the Spanish people over the forces of reaction, which wants to dig its claws into the heart of Spain, will mean a victory for world democracy.

We are marching forward along a path strewn with the bodies of our fallen fighters and drenched with the blood of some of the finest sons of the Spanish people. But we are firmly convinced that this path will lead to a decisive victory over fascism. Then forward, comrades ! The nations who are suffering beneath the frightful yoke of fascism look to us with hope and await the issue of our struggle.

Our battle cry—"Fascism must not win !"—has been heard all over the world.

Komsomolskaya Pravda, September 15, 1936

DEAR RUBEN,

Forgive me for not having written to you for so long. But you know, of course, that I never forget you. I just had a tremendous amount of work to do.

You cannot even imagine, my son, how savage is the struggle now going on in Spain.

Fascism is trying with all its might to seize the heart of the Spanish people in its bloody claws. But the Spanish people have risen up in a magnificent urge in their own defence, and prefer to die rather than become the slaves of fascism. Fighting is going on daily and hourly. And in this fighting some of our finest and most courageous comrades have perished, have sacrificed themselves to the last.

Abanaz died the death of a hero in the storming of the barracks of La Montana. You know these barracks, of course, they are situated near the Plaza d'Espana where the. monument of Don Quixote stands.

I have spent many days at the front among the men of the national militia and the civil guard. They are all fighting with equal courage and equal enthusiasm.

It is my hope that in spite of all difficulties, particulary the lack of arms, we shall nevertheless win. It may be that we shall all perish in this struggle, but you, my son, must be strong. Think of our ideals, be ready to fight without weakness, be ready to sacrifice yourself to the end in behalf of our cause.

Learn to work and to understand political questions. You must also be strong physically. Study theory, which will enable you to understand all that is going on from the Marxist stand-

point. Be kind to your comrades. Never for a moment doubt that communism is the only ideal to which it is worth devoting one's whole life.

Tell Amaya that I am very well. I have no news from your father because communications have been cut. Ask Amaya to write me in Madrid ; and you write too.

My love and hopes are with you both.

Good-bye, my son ! Your mother loves you more than her own life and kisses you passionately.

Dolores.

Vechernaya Moskva, October 2, 1936

THE WAR MUST BE FELT!

WHEN a man, a family or a nation undergoes some extraordinary experience, the whole force of instinct and desire of course strive to bring the disorganized life back into the channels of normal development. But this requires the adoption of special measures, the removal of all obstacles and the subordination of the whole course of life to the needs of the emergency.

It would be senseless to close one's eyes to the facts, to submit to events with the fatalism of a suicide, or to refuse to recognize the danger, just in order to preserve inviolate the backward customs which linger deep in the hearts of men and nations.

Spain is at war. The people, men and women, who are devoting all their efforts and minds to further the development and prosperity of the country and the nation, did not want war. But they were forced into the struggle, and they must end it swiftly and victoriously, in order to return to normal life, to start a new advance and to proceed by the new paths which will open up after we have defeated those who have provoked this war.

Madrid is the desired aim of the fascist rebels. Madrid is the heart of our Republic, of our country, which will soon belong to us entirely. Madrid must adapt its life to the contingencies of war. Madrid must abandon routine, put an end to the frivolous attitude towards the war. It must become a strong and inaccessible city, a model of fighting activity for the whole country, just as it is the vital centre of the politics, economics and administration of the country.

Madrid must be militarized—and so must the whole of Spain. I do not mean by militarization its outward tokens, the obligation to wear uniform, whether working overalls or military tunic. I have in mind the intrinsic meaning of the term—the necessity for honest work, resposibility, discipline, adaptation to the requirements of the moment, and the subordination of everything to these requirements.

"What," some will exclaim, "are we all to become soldiers?"

Yes, we must all become soldiers, because we are all living in a city which is in a state of war, and on the issue of this war depend peace, freedom, progress and democracy, the tranquillity and prosperity of our domestic hearths.

Furthermore, this is not a far-fetched idea, an invention. A law was recently passed in France which provides that in time of war the whole civilian population—men, women and children—may be mobilized and militarized. And if that country, which is at peace, has adopted such a law, why should we be afraid to do so in our country when the war demands it? It is high time, we think, to pass such a law, to unhesitatingly adopt measures to ensure victory.

What hardships and disadvantages would such a law entail? None. On the contrary, we would derive great advantages from it. We must begin with a system of distribution of foodstuffs. This will help us to get rid of the food lines, where provocation is rife. It is time to put an end to all display aiming merely at effect. Work in the mills and factories must be organized on one system, and everybody must work as much as is required until we emerge victorious.

After rigid discipline has been established a stop must be put to the spread of defeatist rumours. The war must be felt. That is not the case now, for those who do not go to the front, and who have nobody at the front, those who do not realize

the profound seriousness of the moment, are inclined to regard this tragic struggle rather frivolously, although it is absorbing the finest forces of our nation.

But this cannot go on any longer. And it is we, the women, who demand and insist on clarity in this question, as do all those who realize the necessity for this step, and want to put a stop to this irresponsible and indifferent attitude to our struggle in which the future of Spain is being decided !

The militarization of the whole civilian population will encourage the wide initiative of the masses, who are capable of performing miracles if properly led. We need mobilization and discipline, as well as the punishment of those who would like to impose their will, or the will of some group, upon the collective, and who place their own personal selfishness and advantage higher than the interests of the nation.

The enemy is everywhere. He fights in the most varied ways ; he conceals the provisions so needed by the people ! he forces up the price of these provisions ; he organizes sabotage in the factories ; he spreads demoralizing rumours ; he retains in the rear what is needed at the front ; he destroys what may be required tomorrow ; by his criminal and vile actions he creates an atmosphere of distrust and hostility ; and, finally, he does everything directly or indirectly to impair the strength and undermine the enthusiasm of those who are prepared to give their lives for the common cause.

We must put an early end to this state of affairs. There are still many enemies lurking in the rear. We want to drag them into the light of day, we want to know who they are.

Everything for the defence of Madrid ! Everything for the defence of Spain, freedom, our lives, our children ! All other considerations must be placed in the background. All

sacrifices, all means, all privations are justified by this end, for we women and mothers demand it !

Universal compulsory labour, the rationing of foodstuffs, discipline, and the exemplary punishment of saboteurs must be introduced.

In a word, the war must be felt, the war must be waged !

Mundo Obrero, September, 25, 1939

FROM the very first days of the struggle, the Spanish people were convinced of their ultimate victory over the forces of darkness, which embodied the exploitation and oppression of the people in the past and their enslavement and humiliation in the future. These forces have risen to impose the shameful yoke of fascism on the backs of the people.

"We shall defeat them!"—the people said, when they took up the fight in the first days of the rebellion.

"We shall defeat them!"—were the words on all lips and in all hearts.

Adults and children, men and women, old people who recalled the past battles against reaction, the people's militia, all the Republican forces were fused by one urge and by one conviction:

"They shall not pass!"

Each put his whole heart into the fight. Do not forget, we entered this struggle without arms, because the traitors had delivered all the arms to our enemy on the eve of the struggle.

Nobody who was not in Spain in those days can conceive the heroism that inspired our people.

Mothers did not weep when they bade farewell to their sons going to face death. Women demanded that the men should display courage and self-sacrifice. They preferred to be widows of heroes rather than wives of cowards.

And in that terrible struggle, when people went into battle without rifles and waited for weapons to drop from the enfeebled hands of their fallen comrades, when women, closing the eyes

of their husbands in the hospitals, placed their children in the care of others and joined the marching columns, and when other women cherished and protected like their own the children left in their care, all were moved by one dream and one hope—the hope of international solidarity and aid.

But days passed, and no aid was forthcoming from the bourgeois democracies, although we were waging a mortal struggle against international fascism, which is armed to the teeth and menacing democracy all over the world. We received no assistance in the struggle on which partly depended the immediate future of all Europe and the maintenance of peace. At a time when not only munitions but even foodstuffs were becoming exhausted, provocateurs endeavoured to sow doubt in our midst.

At this juncture a country remote from us geographically, but as near to us as a sister, came to our aid. It was the Soviet Union.

"Our Soviet brothers have not abandoned us in our misfortune !"—exclaimed the fighters at the front and their families in the rear.

In an outburst of enthusiasm and gratitude, they said to all who doubted the possibility of victory :

"We shall have enough bread. Our children will receive milk. Our fighters will have more meat to nourish them, because the women of the Soviet Union are thinking and caring for us !"

Sisters of the Soviet Land, and all you comrades, who under the leadership of our great and beloved Comrade Stalin, having vanquished all dangers and difficulties, have created a socialist society—your friends, the working people of Spain, who are waging a struggle against fascism, send you their ardent and grateful greetings !

Inspired by your assistance, the heroic Spanish people assure you that they will not lose heart in this struggle. Fascism shall not break through ; we will hold it back and repulse it !

This certainty is reinforced by the knowledge that we are not alone, that you, the Soviet women, are behind us. Our struggle will be more vigorous, and the desperate attacks of the enemy will recoil from the steel walls of national unity.

Pravda, September 25, 1936

RATHER BE WIDOWS OF HEROES THAN WIVES OF COWARDS

Speech Delivered at a People's Front Meeting in Madrid
October 14, 1936

SPAIN will either win as a free and democratic country or will cease to exist altogether. The enemy cannot be defeated by enthusiasm alone, by faith in the justice of our cause alone. War is an art and science, and must be mastered. Despite the heroism of the anti-fascist fighters, the enemy has succeeded in dealing them several blows just because they lack organization, discipline and military knowledge. These shortcomings must be made good, otherwise the enemy may pass. (*Voices : "He will not pass !"*)

He will not pass if we possess the will to victory, and that means the will to organize victory. We must establish order in the rear. Enough of street masquerades, enough of sham uniforms. The government has decided to militarize the people's militia. That is not enough, the whole nation must be militarized. (*Applause.*) A stop must be put to the inefficiency in the rear. In Madrid, houses are being built. Whom are they being built for, when the war is not yet over and the enemy has not been smashed ? When we win, we shall build all the houses we want ; but now labour power and funds are needed for the erection of fortifications and the digging of trenches for the defence of Madrid. (*Cheers.*) Every working man who remains in the rear must become a watchful sentinel and keep a keen eye on the machinations of the enemy. The rebel generals boast that in launching four columns against Madrid

they can count on the aid of a "fifth column," that is, the enemy ensconced in the rear, in the capital itself. We must never forget that the enemy "fifth column" exists and is active.

We must not conceal the fact that Madrid is in danger. The removal of this danger depends on the people of Madrid, and on them alone. The people of Madrid must remember the example of the Petrograd workers who in 1919 succeeded by their courage, endurance and discipline not only in repulsing but also in destroying the large enemy forces advancing on Petrograd. All the proletarians in Madrid, men and women, must learn the use of arms. International democracy is on the side of the Spanish people. The working people of the Land of the Soviets are on their side. (*Applause. Cries of : "Viva Rusia !"*)

They will not pass, the fascists will not pass ! They will not pass because we are not alone !

The lives and future of our children are at stake. This is not the time for hesitation ; this is not the time for timidity. We women must demand that our men be courageous. We must inspire them with the thought that a man must know how to die worthily. We prefer to be widows of heroes rather than wives of cowards !

Mundo Obrero, October 15, 1936

GREETINGS TO THE EXTRAORDINARY EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF THE U.S.S.R.!

TO you, representatives of a society in which there are no exploiting classes, I send my ardent revolutionary greetings at this moment when you are taking part in the adoption of the most democratic constitution in the world.

From bleeding Spain, which is being sold piecemeal by a pack of generals, are borne to you, sisters and brothers of the Land of Socialism, cries of greeting and profound love. In battle and in labour, our people pronounce with reverence the words "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

The aid given by Soviet women to the women and children of Spain strengthens our spirit and our certainty of victory. Despite the forces of the enemy, despite his brutality, Spanish democracy will win. Our husbands, our children, the whole of Spain will always remember the fraternal words which our great Stalin, the father of Soviet democracy, addressed to the people of Spain. These words will forever be preserved in the history of Spanish democracy.

Some of the finest and most devoted sons of the people are perishing in the fight against fascism. But despite the strength of the enemy, despite terrorism and murder, we are convinced that victory will be ours, that the victory will be won by democracy. Our children, our husbands, all belligerent Spain send to you, sisters and brothers, their ardent fraternal greetings.

The words of Stalin—

"The liberation of Spain from the yoke of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but

*is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind—"**

have penetrated deep into the hearts of the Spanish people and have evoked a feeling of profound gratitude to Comrade Stalin. From the trenches, from the advanced positions, from wherever our fighters are defending our country, comes the universal cry :

Long live the Soviet Union !

Long live the country of Lenin and Stalin !

Mundo Obrero, November 28, 1936

* From J. Stalin's telegram to Jose Diaz, Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party.—*Ed.*

WE SWEAR BY OUR HONOUR AS COMMUNISTS TO AVENGE OUR FALLEN COMRADES !

Speech Delivered at an Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party

HISTORIC TIMES

COMRADES and friends, never has a time more deserved to be called historic than the present.

For eight months now, in savage war and in daily bloody battles, our political line and the ability and courage of the political and trade union organizations of our country are being subjected to severe test. And it is with the greatest satisfaction that we are able to say that wherever there is supreme danger or risk our Party is to be found in one of the foremost positions ; that from the first day of the struggle, our Party—and it could not have been otherwise—has taken its place in the front ranks of the fighters for the cause of the Spanish people. By its self-sacrifices and heroic activities, the Communist Party has succeeded in winning the confidence of tens of thousands of men and women and the sympathies of the broad anti-fascist masses of Spain, who regard our Party as the political force which most consciously and clearly assesses the situation, the political force which is always able to find the correct orientation and to advance clear-cut slogans at the proper time, slogans best corresponding to the conditions of the moment, and to carry out these slogans with firmness.

WE INDICATED THE RIGHT PATH A YEAR AGO

A year ago an Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party was held.

At that Plenum we reviewed our activities and the development of the struggle of our Party from the glorious events of October 1934 to the victory in the elections of February 1936.

At that Plenum we took note of the growth of our forces. It was already clear that because of its correct policy our Party was winning the hearts of the people, that it was daily penetrating deeper and deeper into the ranks of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and women. These masses were growing more and more convinced that it was only the Communist Party that was firmly and unhesitatingly—despite the furious outcries of the political windbags who were unable to abandon the old concepts, and despite the vile work of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites—pointing out to the workers and all anti-fascists the real and only correct path of the revolution.

We have delegates here from many districts ; there are delegates here from districts which are under the power of the fascists. They will tell us of the horrors of the fascist yoke and of the heroic and painstaking underground work of our comrades who are waging the struggle on the territory seized by the fascists. But there are no delegates here from the Asturias, there are no Asturian comrades, for they are at present engaged in decisive battles. We send them our ardent greetings.

We have among us delegates from the front. They will tell you about the valour of our tank-drivers, the bravery of our anti-tank detachments and of our dynamite brigades, about the people who go into battle and die with the *International* on their lips, and of youths who sing the hymn of the League of Anti-Fascist Revolutionary Youth, preferring to die on the field of battle rather than live beneath the jackboot of the fascist butchers.

There are missing from this Plenum many comrades who used to inspire our meetings with the spirit and courage of communists, with the spirit and courage of members of the glorious party of Lenin and Stalin, who by the firmness of their convictions and the example of their whole lives, demonstrated the correctness of the political line of our Party. They will never be with us again. They have died like brave men at the front. They died believing in the victory of our people, surrounded by the love of our Party. With their dying blood they re-affirmed the vow they took when they joined our Party, to sacrifice their lives if need be, if the cause of the revolution should demand it.

Among those missing from this meeting is Carlos Vega, member of the Central Committee of our Party, who was shot at Oviedo ; Eustacio Garrote, member of the Central Committee and leader of the Party organization in Vigo, who was quartered by the fascist butchers—they cast his remains into the cell where his comrades lay, with the words: "Here is your leader !" Missing also is Leandro Carro, deputy and member of our Central Committee, who disappeared without trace in Galicia. Missing are Juan Garces, Cortes deputy and member of our Central Committee, who was shot in Cordova ; Heredia, of the Madrid Regional Committee, who fell on the Madrid front ; Barzana, of the Madrid Regional Committee, who fell on the Sierra front ; Luis Pena, of the Madrid Regional Committee ; Juanito Fernandez, of the Madrid Regional Committee, one of the first militia commanders ; Jose Ochoa Alcazar, member of our Central Committee, who was shot on the Canary Islands ; Eduardo Suarez Morales, deputy from the Canary Islands, who was shot after putting up a heroic resistance ; Lena Odena,

leader of the Youth League, who perished in Granada ; Andres Martin, Youth League leader and member of our Party ; Trifon Medrano and Lunz Cuesta, who fell in the Basque country ; Agustin Sapirani, member of the Basque Communist Party and leader of the Youth League ; Evaristo Gil, member of the executive committee of one of the Madrid trade unions and one of the oldest fighters in our Party ; Jesus Gai of the Madrid Committee of the United Socialist Youth League ; Cable, of the Committee of the United Socialist Youth League of Madrid ; Chicharro, of the Committee of the United Socialist Youth League of Madrid ; Arisio, of the Educational Workers' Union ; Castro, leader of the Asturias Youth League and member of our Party, who was shot in Oviedo ; Erminio Arguelles. of the Asturias Regional Committee of our Party, who fell on the Oviedo front : Tavira, Asturian leader, who died on the Gijon front ; Horacio Arguelles, an old fighter in the National Confederation of Labour, who died on the Oviedo front ; Juan Marco, a devoted representative of our Party in Valencia, who was killed on the Teruel fronc ; Teresa Diaz, Francisco Adames, Antonio Romero, Antonio Palomares, of the Ciudad Real local committee ; the hero, Captain Benito ; Jose Cortijo, who was killed in Madrid ; Azarta, Basque Party leader, who was killed in the attack on San Sebastian ; Pedro Martinez Gorrea, of the Jaen Regional Committee, who was killed in an attempt to rescue a comrade ; Elvira Galliardo, political commissar on the Malaga front, and his comrade, Lieutenant Antonio Pardo, who committed suicide so as not to fall alive into the clutches of the enemy ; Jose Ropero of our Party Committee in Seville und its representative on the local municipal council ; Eladio Gorcia, member of the Regional Committee of the United Socialist Youth League, representative of our Party on the Seville municipal council, who was shot ; Montesinos, an old fighter

of our Party, who was shot in Seville ; Manuel Luque, general secretary of a regional bakers' union and member of our Party, who was shot ; Pedro Cajal, secretary of the Party in Huesca, killed at the front ; Manuel Madrilez of the Murcia Regional Committee, who died in the performance of his duty in Arganda ; Jose Alegria of the Regional Committee of the United Socialist Youth League of Muocia, member of our Party, who died a hero's death in University City.

To them, and to the thousands of nameless and unknown heroes who have fallen fighting beneath our banner, to all who fought in our ranks and gave their lives for the cause of the revolution, we swear on our honour and our word as communists, that they will live eternally in our hearts, that we shall not lay down our arms until complete victory has been won over the enemies of the Spanish people ; and that if necessary, every one of us will give his life for the cause for which they died honourably and heroically. In memory of our comrades who have fallen in battle I propose one minute's silence. (*One minute's silence. The orchestra plays the funeral march.*)

THE STAFF OF THE REVOLUTION

In these drastic and perilous days, when the fate of the Spanish nation is being decided, our Party has convened this Plenum of its Central Committee—the General Staff of the revolution—in order to review their activities and the struggle of our Party at the front and in the rear, in order to study the new factors that have arisen in our life in recent times, to explain our aims to the new fighters who have joined our ranks, and in order, having exchanged experiences and opinions, to leave here with even greater strength and even greater firmness.

ARDENT GREETINGS TO HEROIC MADRID AND TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE WORLD

Comrade Jose Diaz, Secretary of our Party, a baker by trade, a modest and simple comrade and a staunch revolutionary, who, thanks to his devotion to the cause of the working class, has become the faithful spokesman of our revolutionary ideas, our leader, one of the people most loved by the Spanish proletariat, will report to you on the activities of our Party and on the tasks that confront us in the future struggle.

But before that I would like on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to convey our ardent greetings to heroic Madrid, which has set an example of bravery, staunchness and invincibility.

To our valorous fighters, who have added glorious and heroic pages to history, and whose blood has reddened the path of the new Spain ; to our heroic airmen, who are clearing our skies of the enemy birds of prey and who have displayed miracles of bravery ; to the courageous seamen who are defending our shores and devotedly sacrificing their lives when the defence of the Republic demands it ; to all the loyal troops who are bravely and manfully fighting on our side—we send our ardent greetings !

To the representatives of our fraternal parties : to the representative of the Communist Party of Germany, a country which has experienced the sufferings and shame of fascist slavery ; to our heroic Italian comrades, who have fled from their country in order to help us in the struggle against fascism ; to the representatives of the French Communist Party, who have come here to tell us, not about the cowardly policy of their government, but about the warm sympathy of the French

proletariat for the cause of the Spanish people (*loud applause*); to our British comrades who have brought us greetings from the British workers; and to the representatives of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, who have come here to help us clear the path of our revolution—we extend our ardent greetings!

And to you, the pressmen who have come here to tell the world what the Communist Party is and what part it is playing in the struggle for emancipation of the Spanish people, in the fight for the defence of the democratic Republic—we extend our ardent greetings!

Proceeding to the labours of our Plenum, we proclaim today with greater pride than ever that we are communists.

Long live the Communist Party of Spain!

May the comrades who have sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the people live forever in the memories and hearts of all of us!

Long live Comrade Stalin, the leader of the world revolution!

Long live the People's Front! (*Loud and prolonged applause. The orchestra plays the International.*)

Frente Rojo, March 5, 1937

FOR A UNITED PARTY OF THE SPANISH PROLETARIAT!

Report Delivered to a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, June 1937

THIS Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party has met to discuss in a clear, concrete and decisive form the urgent question of unity, the amalgamation of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party into a united party of the proletariat. Such a party, armed with the mighty theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, will be a guarantee of the victory of the people; it will be the leader of the people's revolution.

It is the most passionate desire of all the fighters at the front to achieve the unity of the most class-conscious, most militant and heroic forces of the proletariat within a single class party; the unity of all the proletarians under a single trade union centre; the political welding of the democratic and republican forces of the petty bourgeoisie; the unity of the whole Spanish people. In this way will be realized the ardent wish of tens of thousands of fighters, who in the trenches and at the breastworks have merged their desires and dreams into one general cry: "Defeat fascism, win the war, and with it the revolution!"

Unity!—that is the passionate cry of all the fighters at the front, the aspiration of all who desire to see their country prosperous and liberated from the clutches of fascism.

And yet how many obstacles bar the way to the achievement of unity! We realize that it will be no easy matter to achieve unity, that there will be moments when some of our comrades, coming up against the egoism and petty interests of sectarian

groups, will think: "Would it not be better if the Communist Party, resting on the loyalty of the broad masses of the working people of town and country, were to rely on its own forces in deciding all the revolutionary problems now facing the country?" But if such an idea should occur to any of us, it would have to be nipped in the bud. We must instil in the minds of all comrades the conviction that the policy of the Party on the question of unity is the correct one, so that they may firmly uphold our position.

We are out to achieve a united party of the proletariat. And our Party, which always approaches a question from the healthy common-sense standpoint, cannot ignore the existence of revolutionary potentialities and qualities among the groups of workers who belong to other organizations, and especially to the Socialist Party, not to mention the anarchist trends, which are coming more and more to welcome the political activity of the proletariat, and which may be brought within the orbit of a united party of the proletariat and become one of its component parts.

WE ARE ENTERING A NEW PHASE OF THE WAR

We are entering a new phase in the development of the war and the people's revolution in our country. Although we consider the present moment one of the most difficult in our war, although we do not forget the tragic position of the Basque country, and although fascist Germany and Italy are extending their intervention and the occupation of our territory and sending twice as many men, arms and munitions of all kinds as before—we can assert that the issue of the civil war will in the main be decided in our favour, provided, of course, that German and Italian fascism, in their unrestrained attack upon the liberty and democracy of nations, do not resort to an absolutely open invasion of our country.

The decisive factor making for our victory is that we have already practically completed the formation of a regular army.

We possess the necessary machinery for the development of the munitions industry, which can grow fast enough to satisfy the needs of the big army we are forming. We have enough technicians and workers to ensure an extensive development of the munitions industry.

And if to this be added that we have a government of the People's Front, prepared with absolute firmness to maintain order in the rear and to proceed to introduce fundamental changes in the economic life of the country in order to ensure the tranquillity and prosperity of the masses, then it will be correct to say that we are entering a new phase in the development of our struggle.

Who would have thought when the war broke out that we would have over half a million men under arms ? And this figure is constantly growing. Over there, at the front, there are hundreds of thousands of men who must be fed, clothed and supplied with arms and munitions, so that they may continue the war and expedite our victory.

We must rapidly organize our industry, not confining ourselves to the mobilization of the means we possessed at the early moments of the fascist military revolt, but adopting new methods of work, so as constantly to increase output and to improve and rationalize production.

In order to avert collapse and chaos in production owing to what is known as the syndicalization of every factory, every workshop, and every small undertaking, our Party is stubbornly striving for the nationalization of the basic branches of the country's industry.

It is one of our urgent problems to produce more and better, and to stimulate the productivity of labour. That cannot be

achieved by petty-bourgeois equalitarianism, by equality of wages. More intensive production can be attained only by introducing the principle : "The bigger the output, the bigger the pay."

Bearing in mind the chaos and disorganization caused in economic life by the fascist military revolt, it must be one of our prime duties to ensure the maximum output of agricultural produce, irrespective of the form of production, whether it be individual or collective.

Our Party is a consistent advocate of collective labour, including labour in agriculture, because collective labour makes it possible to utilize machinery, fertilizers and irrigation on a large scale, thus ensuring an increase of produce and lightening the labour of the peasants. But collectivization, work in common, must follow from a clear expression of the will of the peasants and must never be imposed upon them by force.

We have a government which has set itself the aim of creating the conditions both at the front and in the rear which will enable us to win the war rapidly and to ensure the development of the popular revolution.

Apart from this—the most important thing—we have a Communist Party which has grown numerically and politically into a mighty force. We are able to announce with pride that we have 301,500 persons in our ranks on the territory of the Republican government, not counting 64,000 members of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia and 22,000 in the Basque country. (*Loud applause.*) And these figures are not fixed, but are showing a steady tendency to increase.

But although our Party is strong, although everybody is obliged to admit the decisive role it is playing in ensuring rapid victory in the war and revolution, we must as rapidly as possible put a stop to the division of forces in the ranks of the workers

and secure the formation of a great united party of the proletariat, which will serve as the undisputed vanguard of the whole working class and as the leader and guide of the whole Spanish people.

TWO METHODS OF GUIDING PROLETARIAN POLICY

In order to make it clear that our political line is correct, we must examine two methods of guiding proletarian policy. Nobody, unless he is blind, can help seeing the decisive part played by the Great October Socialist Revolution in the struggle against world reaction and fascism. How much hatred and hostile criticism was levelled against the Bolsheviks for their methods of leading the revolution, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the most effective way of suppressing counter-revolution and consolidating real democracy, which today serves as an amazing and instructive example not only for the proletariat but for honest and progressive people all over the world ! It is now clear to everybody that, thanks to the iron leadership of the Bolshevik Party, there exists in the world today a socialist stronghold—the Soviet Union—which is showing the international working class the way to achieve its emancipation. A new civilization has been created in the U.S.S.R., a Soviet civilization, the pride of the world proletariat and of all who love progress, democracy and peace. The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union was the result of the policy and leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

But in contrast to this revolutionary policy we have the policy and methods of Social-Democracy, especially of German Social-Democracy, which because of its "theory" of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, and because of its capitulation to the bourgeoisie, has led the working class to defeat.

We are obliged to speak of the results of the mistaken policy of the Second International so as not under any circumstances to permit a repetition of the mistakes of the past, and so to call for the vigilance of the workers of all countries, and consequently, of the workers of our country. We must prove to them with the help of facts that only a consistent revolutionary policy and tactics can lead to the victory of the proletariat all over the world, just as they have led to the victory of the proletariat in the Soviet Union ; whereas the policy of class collaboration with big capital, the tactics of concession and capitulation to fascism can only lead to the victory of fascism.

The reactionary leaders of the Second International, to whom the proletariat has thousands of times pointed as being to blame for the reverses it has suffered, cannot forgive the communists for having reminded them of the fatal character of their activities in the working class movement and for having quite clearly proved that their position is an anti-Marxist one and contrary to the interests of the proletariat.

And now, too, adhering to their fatal policy, they continue to reject the specific proposals for united action that have been repeatedly made to them by the Communist International at various critical moments of the struggle of the world proletariat. They have, in spite of the imminent dangers, repeatedly refused to co-operate with the Communist International in a movement of solidarity with the working class when it was hunted and persecuted for its revolutionary activities in various countries.

Recall the position taken up by the reactionary leaders of the Second International after the movement of October, 1934,* when they said that the communists only talked about unity, but did not really want it.

* The armed action of the Asturian miners on October 6, 1934.— *Ed.*

The proposals for united action made by the Communist International to the Socialist International, of which you all know and which have always been made in vain, are not casual proposals and do not date from the present day. I would only like to remind you of the latest proposal for united action made by the Communist International to the Socialist and Labour International in connection with the bombardment of Almeria by the fascist German navy. I am referring to the proposal made at the request of the Socialist Party of Spain and the Communist Party of Spain, to which the Presidium of the Second International replied that it had no authority to adopt decisions without the consent of its Council, which would meet nobody knew when.

What tragic irony !

Fascism needs no authority for the destruction of our towns, for the annihilation of our villages, for the extermination of our women and children ; but the leaders of the Second International have to hold up a manifestation of international solidarity, a joint campaign of the world proletariat, until an extraordinary meeting of the Council shall have been held and have given them the needed authority.

Claridad was right when, like a number of the proletarian and democratic papers, it wrote of the position of these leaders as follows :

"The Spanish proletariat affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions and to the Socialist and Labour International, like the proletariat affiliated to the Third, Communist International, is entitled to know the truth about the motives which have hitherto prevented a joint campaign of the international working class movement on behalf of democratic Spain. We know [the paper goes on to say] with what clarity this question was put by Dimitrov in his earlier and present replies

to the Spanish sections of the Marxist labour movement. We also know what vague replies were given by de Brouckere and Adler in connection with the requests of the Spanish workers. But that cannot satisfy us. *Is there not something at the bottom of all this ?* ... For if there is anything being concealed, we have the right to know it. And the inference is easily drawn : the International Trade Union Federation and the Socialist and Labour International are boycotting an organized and effective campaign of the international proletariat on behalf of Republican Spain. This may seem to be putting it rather strongly, but we cannot do otherwise until the contrary is proved. The reply given to the request of the Spanish workers evades the proposal made ; and nobody has the right to evade such proposals at the present stage of the international struggle against fascism."

After this article of our fraternal paper *Claridad*, it looks as if the Second International intends to alter its conduct and to start negotiations with the representatives of the Communist International.

Let us hope that this will not be one more of those fruitless negotiations, and that this meeting will result in substantial aid being given to the heroic Spanish people and to the defence of world democracy. This is the hope, and the legitimate hope, of all our people, who are with such enthusiasm defending the democracy and peace of the world together with their own independence and freedom. (*Approval.*)

We are striving for unity because we know that without unity the proletariat cannot achieve decisive victories. And that is why we cannot renounce the right of criticism, for that would be an indirect recognition of the correctness of a theory and tactics which are obviously at variance with the interests of the working people.

Our desire for unity is in no way compatible with ignoring and leaving uncriticized the mistakes committed in their political activity by those with whom we want to unite forces. An unprincipled unity, a unity without a clear political platform, without clearly established methods of struggle, would be turned into a fictitious unity which, instead of strengthening the forces that desire to unite, would introduce into their ranks the germ of new splits and conflicts. And we have never wanted splits. That is why we criticize every thing which at any given moment might contribute to the destruction of the alliance we have brought into existence. We criticize 'political policies which may prove fatal to the course of the war and the revolution.

At the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, at which the necessity of uniting the proletariat was once more affirmed, and the position of the Party in this respect specified, as well as the necessity of creating a People's Front to include the democratic and anti-fascist petty-bourgeoisie, Comrade Dimitrov said ;

"Joint actions with Social-Democratic parties and organizations demand of the communists serious and well-founded criticism of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and the constant comradely explanation of the program and slogans of communism to the Social-Democratic workers."

In contrast to the anti-proletarian and anti-Marxist position of certain of the leaders of the Second International, the masses led by them are imbued with profound class sentiments, for the unhappy experience of Italy, Germany and Austria has taught them whither disunity and division of the proletarian forces may lead.

The idea of creating a people's front and bringing about the

political and trade-union amalgamation of the proletariat is gaining ground despite all obstacles.

The heart and mind of every worker, every peasant and every intellectual should be deeply impressed with what Comrade Dimitrov has constantly said, namely, that "the establishment of unity of action of the international proletariat against the common enemy, the mortal enemy of all mankind—fascism—*is the fundamental and urgent task of the workers' organizations all over the world, and the supreme demand of the moment.*" This supreme demand we are fulfilling. (*Applause.*)

THE PROBLEM OF UNITY IN SPAIN

The problem of uniting the Socialist and Communist Parties and of creating a united party of the proletariat is not of recent origin and is not new to us, although we are now insisting upon it with greater emphasis and are trying to expedite it more than ever before.

The Plenum of our Central Committee held in September 1934 already outlined the forms which would lead to close connection and fraternal contact with the Socialist Party for the purpose of united action and for the specific revolutionary actions which were then looming and which took definite shape in the battles of October 1934. And it was in these heroic and memorable October days that the desire of our Party, which was also the desire of all the workers, was realized. In the heroic Asturias, socialists, communists and anarchists fought and won shoulder to shoulder. Welded at first in struggle, and then in prison and suffering, they issued the revolutionary cry to their brothers all over Spain : "Brother proletarians, unite !" —a cry which reflected the still unformed sentiment of the masses, and the effectiveness of which has been tested in the fire of countless revolutionary actions.

Who does not recall the concrete proposal we made after the October movement to the leaders of the Socialist Party for united action by all parties as the first step towards the creation of a united party of the proletariat ?

The brutal suppression of the glorious revolutionary movement in the Asturias, the crushing of which was intended to destroy the class organizations of the workers to "cure" them of the desire for social justice, led, contrary to the expectations of the October butchers, to a greater intensification of the class-consciousness of the Spanish proletariat, of its desire for unity, of its desire to put an end once and for all to the regime of oppression, terrorism and gagging which the Lerroux-Gil Robles government had imposed upon the people of Spain.

Our Party at that time once again sponsored the desire of the proletariat and the Spanish people for unity, but its voice was not heeded by the leaders of the Socialist Party.

The broad response of the masses to the historic meeting in the Monumental, at which Comrade Diaz publicly raised the standard of the People's Front, that is, the standard of unity of all anti-fascist forces in face of the impending danger of fascism, together with the standard of the unity of the proletarian forces, and chiefly of the forces of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, compelled many of the laggers to take up a definite position on the question of unity.

Within the Socialist Party, the newspaper *Claridad*, the spokesman of the Left trend, was the organ which began to point out the path to unity to the old Socialist Party. But owing to its lack of a clear and consistent revolutionary line, the *Claridad*, despite the decided influence it enjoyed, was unable to bring about a complete change in the orientation of the party. For a fairly long time *Claridad* waged a campaign on behalf of unity, declaring that it agreed with the main

problems raised in our proposals as a basis for unity, and with the conditions for the achievement of unity.

The growing acuteness of the struggle within the Socialist Party retarded the process of unification.

At meetings, assemblies, in political documents and in numerous publications, our Party has always vigorously proposed the realization of unity in practice, pointing to the necessity of creating a people's front and of achieving the unity of the Socialist and Communist Parties as one of the basic conditions that would make it possible to bar the way to fascism, to defend and consolidate the Republic and the democratic gains, and to develop the national revolution.

The correctness of our position was eloquently borne out by the brilliant victory in the Cortes elections on February 16, 1936, a victory which could not be fully utilized owing to the absence of a consistent People's Front policy on the part of the Socialist Party and the General Workers' Union. Had there been such a policy, the fascist military rebellion which broke out on July 18, 1936, might have been averted.

July 18 is a tragic date that marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Spain. The heroism and sacrifices of our brothers in the territories where we succeeded in routing the rebels enabled us to put an end to a whole period of oppression and slavery under the lash of the big capitalists and landlords. Realizing our historical responsibility, and with the object of liberating the rest of Spain from the fascist yoke, we are now asking for a rapid solution of the problem of amalgamation and the creation of a united party of the proletariat to act as the leader and guide of the masses in their struggle for victory and for the consolidation of the revolutionary gains.

Comrade Lamoneda, Secretary of the Socialist Party, acting on behalf of the Executive Committee of his Party, has recently

adopted the proposal our Party had repeatedly made for the formation of a Contact Committe. This Contact Committee has at last been set up. Contact committees have been formed in nearly all the organizations of the Communist and Socialist Parties for the purpose of achieving unity of action and of preparing the way for the amalgamation of the two parties.

The communist and socialist workers have taken up this initiative with the greatest enthusiasm, daily drawing closer and closer to each other both at the front and in the rear. They passionately desire only one thing, namely, *that we stop talking about amalgamation and bring about amalgamation in practice as quickly as possible.* However, this internal urge for unity among the really revolutionary masses of our country has its opponents, who must be exposed.

THE ENEMIES OF UNITY

The differences between the socialists and communists in the assessment of the basic problems of the war and revolution have almost disappeared. After a thorough discussion of all the ideological problems, we are convinced that we shall rapidly find a basis for a common program to serve as a foundation for the amalgamation of the two parties.

But side by side with the definite wish of the majority of the members of the Socialist Party to bring about the amalgamation of the two parties, voices are raised in disapproval of this, and precisely from a quarter where it might least have been expected. These are certain, numerically small, elements who falsely call themselves Lefts and who proclaimed in favour of amalgamation when the problem of amalgamation was still in the abstract, but who now, when it is a question of lending concrete and practical form to unity, are discovering all sorts of supposed obstacles to it, are intriguing to erect a barrier

between the communists and socialists in order to retard and restrain the process of amalgamation of the two parties.

In order to preserve their influence over the workers, these elements, true to the school of duplicity of all the pseudo-revolutionary windbags, advance "ultra-revolutionary" formulas, but sabotage what is really revolutionary in the working class movement, namely, *unity*. They have the insolence to condemn us, to shower us with abuse for having established cordial relations with the leaders of the Socialist Party, with the people who represent this party, and with those whom the "ultra-Lefts" call "Centrists." It should be borne in mind that deeds and not words determine the character of persons and organizations. And under present conditions in Spain those who desire unity are the revolutionaries, while those who sabotage it, although they may unjustifiably call themselves Lefts, are playing into the hands of the counter-revolution.

In view of the existence of various trends within the Socialist Party, it is possible that on yet another of its sectors there may be people who at the decisive moment of amalgamation will try to put a spoke in the wheel. True, so far we have no grounds for thinking so. But if it should prove to be so, if we should have evidence that there are some who, directly or indirectly, are sabotaging the union of the two parties, then, whoever they may be, we shall ruthlessly expose them in the eyes of the proletariat.

Some of these "ultra-Left," syndicalistically-minded socialist "leaders" have induced their followers to adopt resolutions declaring that they find it incompatible to belong to the same ranks as the communists. What heroes and arch-revolutionaries these "comrades" are! Would it not be better for the cause of the war and the revolution if they declared that to them fascism was incompatible, and if many of them went and

occupied the places at the front which their youth warrants, and where the fight against reaction and fascism is really being waged? Would it not be far more noble on their part if the energy they are wasting in attacking the Communist Party and in opposing the unity of the workers and the people were expended on the struggle against the enemies of the people, the Republic and the revolution? (*Applause.*) Obviously, this would be far more beneficial to the cause we are defending. If they did that they would be revolutionaries; but, unfortunately, they are not revolutionaries. In the eyes of these people the struggle is not a struggle in the trenches, at the front, in the dug-outs, but a struggle in the rear against the Communist Party, which does not let them sleep at nights.

How right was our Georgi Dimitrov when he declared that for some of the reactionary leaders of the Socialist parties—although in Spain, let me add, these people are leaders only in quotation marks—"the chief enemy is not fascism, but communism."

And as these wretched people can find no base of support for their harmful activities among the healthy and truly revolutionary masses of the Socialist Party, they begin to have doubts as to who ought to lead and direct the revolution: a party of the proletariat or the trade unions? And accordingly, as *Claridad* rightly points out, within the ranks of this "Left" wing there is growing up a syndicalistically-minded type that is playing into the hands of the enemies of Marxism. They are being led to this by despair and their hatred of communism.

But in addition to these enemies of unity, there are other far more dangerous enemies—the Trotskyites. The most dangerous enemies of the proletariat, liberty and democracy are not those whom the workers can see on the other side of the barricades. The most dangerous enemies are those who, with the aid of

contemptible pettifogging arguments in furtherance of despicable causes, create chasms, call forth differences and antagonisms among the workers by declaring that the amalgamation of the proletariat is impracticable owing to the differences of trend, theory and tactics existing within its ranks. These people are capable of causing the greatest harm to the cause which the Spanish people are defending with such fire and enthusiasm.

These accursed enemies of the proletariat and the revolution have sold themselves body and soul to fascism and the enemies of the proletariat. They are sowing confusion in the ranks of the workers, who from lack of a clear class consciousness and the necessary political training allow themselves to be influenced by empty, demagogic and "ultra-revolutionary" phraseology, and fail to observe the counter-revolutionary path that opens before them.

No measures will ever prove excessive that are taken to purge the proletarian camp of the poisonous growth of Trotskyism—Trotskyism, which assumes different forms in different countries so as to be able to prosecute its "work"; Trotskyism, which is fostered by the enemies of Marxism and of the proletarian revolution because they are fully aware of Trotskyism's destructive effects.

The activities of the Trotskyites in our country—not to mention the monstrous criminal deeds committed by the Trotskyites in the Soviet Union, for you all know about their treason—should sound the alarm to the proletariat, so that it may always be prepared to repulse and rebuff the despicable acts and designs of the Trotskyites.

The hostility the Trotskyites show to the People's Front on the grounds of their "revolutionariness," their systematic attacks on the unity of the anti-fascist forces (while at the same time they do not hesitate to make the maximum use for their

own ends of the advantages derived by the masses from the People's Front), the organization of the criminal putsch in Catalonia at one of the most critical moments at the front, and the acts of espionage on behalf of Franco which have been discovered and which will soon be made public by the government, show more eloquently than any words what is concealed behind this sham facade, namely, *the hand of fascism.*

Acting in the service of fascism, the Trotskyites are doing their utmost to prevent closer unity of the forces of the proletariat, the amalgamation of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. Even within the ranks of the Socialist Party itself the Trotskyites ideologically nourish and foster bitter enemies of proletarian unity, enemies who must be exposed and pilloried, so that the masses, who passionately desire unity, may know who is really defending their interests and who is directly or indirectly defending the interest of their enemies.

THE FRIENDS OF UNITY

But although unity has many enemies, it also has many friends, and very good friends. Fortunately for the future of the revolution, and to the shame of the sham Lefts, the pseudo-leaders, the enemies of unity within the ranks of the Socialist Party are growing daily weaker. And their numbers are also daily diminishing in its Left wing as well. There are socialists who are working honestly within the Left movement, and who have raised aloft the banner of unity others have flung down. Among these champions of unity a most prominent place is held by Alvarez del Vayo. (*All rise and cheer Comrade Alvarez del Vayo.*)

Comrade Alvarez del Vayo is indefatigably striving for an alliance of the Socialist and Communist Parties. He places the interests of the proletariat and the revolution above everything

else, and quite justly declares that "unity is the supreme law of the moment."

Not second to Comrade Alvarez del Vayo in this struggle for unity are several of the finest fighters in the trade union movement and the Socialist Party. The newspaper *Claridad*, after several deviations from the path of unity, deviations to which it was constrained by others, has again returned to its traditions of amalgamation and revolution and is attacking the enemies of unity.

The leading group on the *Claridad* have not confined themselves to condemning the counter-revolutionary position of the enemies of unity, but have issued a striking declaration in favour of unity and have expressed their keen desire that it be brought about as early as possible, ". . . since we consider it an imperative necessity to create a united class party of the proletariat as the only guarantee of the defence of its revolutionary interests."

In its endeavour to put an end once and for all to confusion and mistaken views, *Claridad* has defined its attitude towards the Soviet Union, mindful of the fact that the attitude of any individual and any organization towards the country of victorious socialism is an index of a friendly or hostile attitude towards the revolution. *Claridad* therefore wants to make it perfectly clear that its sympathies are with the Soviet Union.

"*Claridad*," the paper declares, "has always cherished the liveliest sympathy and the sincerest love for the U. S. S. R. Today we reaffirm this, because this sympathy is growing and is strengthening our ties with the great people who have with fraternal solidarity come to the aid of our people. We are therefore opposed to all the enemies of this great country, whatever name they may go by."

Against the group of malcontents, adventurers and political

careerists who have wormed their way into the Socialist Party (and, let it be said, the important thing is not length of membership but line of conduct) all healthy and honest elements in this party are now rising irrespective of trend, and are demanding what Comrade Alvarez del Vayo quite rightly calls "the law of unity."

PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE UNITED PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT SHOULD BE BASED

We can now see in general outline on what principles and foundations, in our opinion, the great united party of the Spanish proletariat should be based, on what the actions of the united party should be founded in order that the war and revolution may be won.

I think I shall also be expressing the views of our Socialist comrades—the supporters of unity—if I at once categorically declare that the united party must base its theoretical foundations on the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels, enriched by the theoretical contributions of Lenin and Stalin. This is the foundation on which the united party whose aim it will be to fight for socialism must be based.

This united party will be able to perform its function as leader of the revolution only if its principle of structure is democratic centralism, and only if its decisions are made obligatory on all its members. We believe that nobody who really wants the unity of the proletariat, who wants the united party of the proletariat to be a consistently revolutionary party, can have any objection to its being built on this solid Marxist foundation.

We are upholders of freedom in the broad sense of the word —but freedom for those who are fighting with us for the triumph of the anti-fascist cause.

Our concepts permit us to uphold freedom of religious belief; but as a Party based upon the scientific theory of Marxism we shall, by educating the masses, endeavour to make them realize the harmfulness of religion.

We are striving for a parliamentary and democratic republic of a new type, within which all the nationalities of Spain will enjoy broad freedom and the right to determine their own destinies. In defence of this Republic we are prepared to sacrifice everything to our last drop of blood. But as communists we do not renounce our desire to bring about in time the victory of socialism, and not only in Spain, but all over the world.

We are Marxists-Leninists-Stalinists, and therefore we adapt our theory to the revolutionary possibilities of the given moment, without renouncing our ultimate aims.

We have issued the slogan for a parliamentary democratic republic of a new type, and are fighting for it with faith and enthusiasm, because it is the slogan that corresponds to the present stage in the development of our revolution and to the conditions prevailing in our country, and because not only are the communists interested in the struggle against reaction and internal fascism, and against the invasion of foreign fascism, but so are the socialists, anarchists and republicans too, and all the petty-bourgeois democracy in our country.

We firmly believe—and to this end we devote all the energy and enthusiasm of which we are capable—that when we have finally defeated reaction and fascism, when we have crushed the fascist military revolt and driven the forces of intervention from our territory, we shall be able, in conjunction with all who are taking an enthusiastic part in the war, to build up a free, prosperous and happy Spain.

In the realization of this great and truly revolutionary cause, we are prepared to march side by side with all who are

willing to accompany us along this road. If anybody should lag behind and come to a halt at one of the numerous turns we shall have to make, all the worse for him. In fighting for its emancipation, the proletariat is fighting for the cause of all mankind. That is a Marxist axiom which we always keep firmly in mind.

Let the "ultra-Left" socialists or uncontrolled anarchist elements continue to cackle like Roman geese and warn their friends against the danger of the "mistakes" of the Communist Party.

The Communist party is a consistently revolutionary party which knows where it is heading, what it wants and how to achieve what it wants.

WE STAND FOR DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Our claim that the united party of the proletariat must be built up on the principles of democratic centralism is based upon the experience of the victorious Bolshevik Party, the teachings of Lenin and Stalin and the teachings of the Communist International, which is the true heir of the revolutionary traditions of the international working-class movement.

We stand for proletarian democracy, we stand for the free discussion of questions within our Party. But a revolutionary party which does not want to be tied hand and foot in its actions must not be a debating society. All problems are discussed, all views are expressed—but once a decision is taken it must be obligatory for all. In our party, the united party we want to create, all—from the rank-and-file members of a nucleus to the members of the Central Committee—will have the right to express their opinion, to set forth their views, to move proposals for discussion and adoption; but, I repeat, once a decision has been taken it must be carried into effect

firmly and resolutely by all the organs and members of the Party.

There are some socialist comrades who think that our discipline is the barrack discipline of passive obedience where nobody has the right to express his opinion. Nothing is farther from the truth than this assertion. What exists in our Party, and what we are striving for in the united party of the proletariat, is conscious discipline based on a study of problems, on a concrete analysis of situations, so that tactics may be adapted to concrete conditions in each particular situation, without being restricted by dogmatic, mechanical and sterile canons.

It is an unquestionable mistake of many parties and organizations that they adopt pretentious revolutionary formulas which do not bind anybody in any way.

Our enemies are not afraid of verbal "revolutionariness" of this kind. We want the party of the proletariat to have a conscious revolutionary line, to the carrying out of which all members must subordinate all their activities and all their energies, thus forming a single and monolithic whole. (*Applause.*)

WE STAND FOR SELF-CRITICISM

The united party of the proletariat must employ the Leninist-Stalinist method of self-criticism.

Anyone who is really anxious to defend the interests of the proletariat must not reject self-criticism, which is the only means of ensuring the rectification of one's mistakes. But the point is not that, having made a mistake, we should beat our breasts and then go on repeating the same mistake. The members of the party should make use of the right of thoroughgoing criticism of all mistakes and of all wrong actions, and they too should criticize themselves in the eyes of the party and

in the eyes of the working masses, of which the party is an inseparable part. This will enable the party to correct its mistakes, to systematically improve its position, and to become stronger and better consolidated.

We are aware that there are "professors" and "masters" of good taste who are contemptuous of the slogan of self-criticism. The opinion of these gentlemen does not concern us in the least. Only one thing concerns us, namely, that our party, the united party of the proletariat, should be equal to its tasks and should carry out its historical revolutionary mission, heedless of the baying of the famished curs, who can so easily be silenced with a bone, and whose greatest wish simply amounts to having something to gnaw. (*Laughter.*)

IDEOLOGICAL UNITY IS ESSENTIAL

It is perfectly obvious that if iron discipline is to be established, the party must be ideologically united. Without such ideological unity, which leads to conscious discipline and the growth of the party, there will always be the danger that various political lines, various tactics, may appear within the party, which is exactly what has happened to the Socialist Party, where each group interprets the tactics and policy of the party in its own way. And sometimes we meet with the strange phenomenon that the Socialist paper published in Valencia has a different line from the organ of the Socialist Party published in Madrid, and that where one paper declares for unity, the other tries to split the working-class movement.

The directing organs of the united party we are striving for—from the lowest organs to the national leadership—must be elected democratically, at general meetings, conferences and congresses. They should be obliged to report periodically on their activities to the mass of the membership.

However, it should not be forgotten that the directing organs are the highest organs of the party, and that their decisions must be obligatory on all members. The central leadership of the party must direct the party as a whole ; the parliamentary group, the Ministers, the party press, and everybody, positively everybody—from the highest functionary to the rank-and-file member—must observe and carry out its decisions. Ministers, deputies, journalists, speakers and rank-and-file members are all members of a single party : wherever they may be it is their duty to advocate and to carry out one and the same policy.

The united party must be imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. While it is the defender of the interests of the whole working population of the country, the united party must at the same time be an internationalist party connected with the proletarian movement in other countries, and must be in close and direct contact with the international organization to which it is affiliated in order to benefit by the experience of the international working-class movement.

The decisions of national leadership and the leadership of the international organization to which the united party of the proletariat is affiliated must be obligatory on the party, because, whatever some may think, these dicisions are not imposed from above, but result from a study of the collective experience gained in the struggle.

THE UNITED PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT MUST DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION AND FIGHT ITS ENEMIES

At the present moment, when fascism is intensifying its policy of provocation against the Soviet Union, against the Land of Socialism, which is so profoundly loved by all working people, it should be a matter of proletarian honour for every member

of the united party to defend the Soviet Union from its enemies and calumniators. But, apart from this, the defence of the Soviet Union implies an understanding on the part of the member of the united party of the theory of Leninism, for, as Comrade Stalin said :

"The greatness of Lenin lies first of all in the fact that he, by creating the Republic of Soviets, showed by deeds to the oppressed masses of the whole world that hope of salvation is not lost, that the rule of the landlords and capitalists is not everlasting, that the kingdom of labour can be created by the efforts of the toilers themselves, that the kingdom of labour must be created on earth and not in heaven. By that he inflamed the hearts of the workers and peasants of the whole world with the hope of liberation."*

THE UNITED PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT MUST BE GUIDED BY THE TEACHINGS OF MARX-ENGELS-LENIN-STALIN

We must be guided by the theory of Marx and Engels, and we must follow the directions of Lenin and Stalin, who have continued the doctrine of Marx and Engels and have put their theory into practice, into real life.

We are Leninists, because Lenin, as our great Stalin said,

". . . was and remained a loyal and consistent pupil of Marx and Engels, and wholly and entirely based himself on the principles of Marxism.†

And we are Stalinists, because the great theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin has been enriched by Stalin, who teaches us communists to be staunch even in the most difficult situations, to observe unflinching, Stalin-like firmness in our struggle and work, to be irreconcilable towards the class enemies and

* J. Stalin, *The Bequests of Lenin.*

† J. Stalin, *Interview With the First American Labour Delegation in Russia.*

renegades of the revolution, and at the same time to fear no difficulties, to clearly distinguish the friends of unity from the enemies of unity, although the latter may drape themselves in the toga of friendship. Furthermore, Comrade Stalin teaches us to combine theory with practice :

"Theory becomes unsubstantial if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory."*

On the basis of this great truth, Comrade Stalin, following the great theoreticians of socialism, has succeeded in consolidating all the socialist gains in a splendid Constitution, which proclaims the right of all labouring people to work and to a prosperous life, a Constitution which shows the working people what is the essence of true democracy and what is the way to achieve it. To be a disciple of Stalin and a vehicle of Stalin's policy is an honour for every proletarian, for every revolutionary who desires to be a loyal defender of the interests of his class. Only traitors, renegades and deserters from the revolutionary camp can reproach us for calling ourselves Stalinists. Yes, we are Stalinists, and we are proud of the fact, because the Stalinist policy leads to the consolidation of socialism and the overthrow of capitalism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrade Stalin is for the people of Spain a symbol of international solidarity. At the most tragic moments of our struggle, when the democratic governments spoke scornfully of the Spanish conflict as a matter that concerned the Spaniards alone, when the leaders of international Social-Democracy platonically demonstrated their solidarity with us, at a time when the fascist countries were sending their finest military material and forces in aid of the rebels, Comrade Stalin, in a few decisive words, magnificently expressed the necessity for the organiza-

* J. Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism.*

tion of international solidarity with the Spanish people. It was no other than Comrade Stalin who, in face of the cowardly policy of the democratic governments, which were scared by the fascist beast, declared to the world :

"The liberation of Spain from the oppression of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind."

The solidarity of the Socialist country has instilled courage into our country. It was only a few days ago that Senor Martinez Barrio, President of the Cortes, definitely and emphatically stated that had it not been for the solidarity of the Soviet Union, Spain would have ceased to exist as a Republic and even as a national entity.

Is this not good reason enough for basing the united party of the proletariat on genuine proletarian internationalism, which has such brilliant teachers and leaders as Comrade Stalin ? (*Applause.*)

HOW TO APPROACH THE PROBLEM OF UNITY PRACTICALLY

Having given a general outline of the program of action, the theoretical principles, and the structure and organizational forms on which should be based the united party of the proletariat, for the creation of which all the necessary conditions exist, I shall now briefly speak of how to approach the problem of uniting the Socialist and Communist Parties practically. Fortunately, despite the vile machinations and despicable tricks of the enemies of unity, the contacts between the two parties are daily growing stronger and more cordial, which circumstance should extremely facilitate the work of amalgamation. A Contact Committee has already been set up between the leadership of the Communist Party and the leadership of the Socialist Party. Contact committees have also been set up in many of

the provincial centres and primary organizations of both parties, and from them we are daily receiving proof of their anxiety to proceed from united action to amalgamation, to the formation of a united party of the proletariat. Contact committees already exist and are functioning in many towns and villages.

I should like to enumerate a few of the provinces where these committees are functioning and bringing great benefit to the people's interests, despite certain difficulties in their way: Albacete, Almeria, the Asturias, Aragon, Cuenca, Estremadura. Guadalajara, Granada, Jaen, Madrid, Murcia, Toledo, Cordova and Valencia

We are receiving news from many localities to the effect that the primary organizations want to bring about unity immediately, without further loss of time. And taking up this desire and these sentiments of our members and the members of the Socialist Party, we too once more declare that the present state of affairs cannot continue much longer and that the amalgamation of the two parties must be effected at an early date.

How can this process be expedited? I think that our Central Committee should propose to the comrades on the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, who have many times already announced their agreement with us as to the necessity for rapid amalgamation, to appoint a delegation to discuss with us the specific problems concerning the immediate fusion of the two parties.

These delegations of the two parties should be empowered to discuss all questions affecting amalgamation. They should examine the questions of program, structure, organizational form and name of the united party and to what international organization it should be affiliated, and keep their parties informed of all questions that may arise in the course of

the discussion. Both parties must be kept constantly informed of the progress of unity.

As you see, we have no desire to impose definite conditions. We want a friendly discussion and the earliest possible arrival at an agreement to form a united party, which the proletariat of our country so passionately desires.

There should be no fear that the fusion of the two parties may result in the removal of some individuals from their posts, or their transfer from one post to another. On the contrary, the creation of a united party will not only demand the collaboration of all honest and capable leaders, but will also demand—today for the purposes of victory and for the consolidation of the gains of the revolution, and tomorrow for the restoration of Spain and the building of a new society—many thousands of leading workers possessing experience in work and struggle, irrespective of the party from which they come.

With these prospects in view, the communists and socialists should establish contact with anarchists who are prepared to take part in the carrying out of the People's Front policy, and should also weigh the possibility of their joining the new party, in whose ranks, as I said at the beginning, the finest representatives of the Spanish working class should be mustered.

Let us tuck up our sleeves and set to work to create this new party on the basis of the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, a party which will be the leader and guide of the proletariat and the working people generally in the work of building a new Spain.

RAISE ALOFT THE BANNER OF UNITY !

Raise aloft the banner of unity, higher than ever before ! Our Party, which has always firmly held the banner of unity,

now desires to raise it higher and to hold it more firmly than ever. We want to bring about, and will bring about, the unity of the advanced forces of the proletariat in a single, united party. We want, and are striving for, the consolidation of united action between the organizations of the General Workers' Union and the National Confederation of Labour with the object of achieving the earliest amalgamation of the two trade union centres. We want—and will help to bring about the political cohesion of the forces of the petty bourgeoisie, in order to establish united action between these forces and the forces of the proletariat.

We want the unity of the whole Spanish people, of all who are fighting reaction and fascism on behalf of the new Spain, to become more profound and more solid every day so that we may win the war, consolidate the gains of the revolution and by our joint efforts build up a Spain of peace, labour and freedom.

Let us work to ensure a rapid victory !

Long live the great, united party of the proletariat !

Long live the People's Front !

Long live the growth of unity !

Long live the creator of unity—our Party—which will lead us to victory ! (*Loud cheers.*)

Frente Rojo, June 21, 1937

YOUTH IN FREE SPAIN ARE ENSURED A HAPPY AND INDUSTRIOUS LIFE

Interview Given to the Norwegian Journalist, Ole Winding

THE youth of Spain have splendid prospects before them. I have chiefly in mind the working youth, who until now were deprived of educational opportunities. The workers' faculty in Valencia is training young people of the poorest families to enter university. Education is free, but besides that the families of students are given an allowance for the entire period of study equivalent to the wages the student would have earned working at his trade.

The new Spain has made sport available to all young people. In the old Spain the children of poor parents were just spectators, looking on while the privileged classes engaged in sports ; but now everyone has the opportunity to indulge in any kind of sport he chooses. Bicycles, balls and other sport equipment are provided free of charge.

Nor is art forgotten. We have concealed our art treasures in safe places, and later on they will be returned to the people. When the time comes, libraries, music schools and art academies will again open their doors to the people.

It should not be forgotten that Spain was a feudal country, and that it belonged entirely to the rich. The accursed past is still deeply rooted, but we shall completely eradicate it. It is not enough to disenclose the land and give it to the peasants ; all the natural resources of the country must be utilized. When the Spanish government nationalizes the mines it will have sufficient funds to restore the economic life of the country.

Here is an example : the finest iron mines in Europe are in the Basque country. The masters of Spain's destinies used to send raw material abroad and then re-import it in manufactured form. Was this not an insult to the people ? I could cite many such examples.

You ask when I think the war will end and what is the function of the "Non-Intervention" Committee ?

It is difficult to foretell when the war will end. The states that are helping the rebels have invested an enormous amount of money in the war and will not want to lose it. On the Basque front alone an air fleet of 150 German planes has been concentrated.

As to the "Non-Intervention" Committee, I can only say one thing : this "Non-Intervention" Committee has prevented the Spanish government from acquiring the munitions it needs to suppress the rebellion. Some of the European nations have sent us Red Cross hospitals. But they are not the important thing. They will not decide the victory. We need arms, munitions and equipment to put an end to the enemies of the Spanish people once and for all ! What else can we desire but unhampered trade with France and other countries ? If we had the unrestricted right of foreign trade the war would have been over long ago.

We know, of course, that the people of all countries are with us and that the cause of Spain is the cause of the whole world. Our people have shown a splendid example of how fascism can be fought.

Spain was not prepared for this conflict. The enemy had up-to-date technical equipment, but all we had was hunting rifles. It was with such weapons that we had to fight a regular, trained army, equipped with super-modern arms. And, as you know, we are not fighting badly.

This is the best example of what can be achieved in the struggle against fascism when there is the will to fight. The defeat of fascism in Spain will mark the beginning of the defeat of fascism throughout the world.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the position of women in our new society. Until lately the status of the Spanish woman was that of a slave. Her husband kept her at home like a prisoner. Now her slavery has come to an end. Our women are fighting effectively at the fronts side by side with the men for their independence, for their human dignity, for the happiness of the Spanish people; they are taking part on an equal footing with men in all fields of development. After the war they will allow nobody to encroach on what they have gained. Ay, and nobody will dare. In free Spain woman will be ensured a creative, industrious, joyous and happy life.

Frente Rojo, June, 5, 1937

WE ARE TOO HUMANE TO THE FASCIST MURDERERS, BUT THERE IS A LIMIT TO OUR PATIENCE

IT is hard to find words to express the profound indignation roused by the acts of vandalism committed by the fascist airmen in the Basque country, facts which need no words to proclaim aloud to the world the utter brutality and barbarity of the murderous fascist horde.

Our devastated villages, our ruined cities, our slaughtered women and children—shot by people who seem not to have been born of women, who seem not to know what a mother is, whose blood carries every symptom of human degeneration and whose feelings are marked by all the vices of the most abhorrent sadism—are irrefutable evidence of what fascist rule would mean to the people.

The appalling villainies perpetrated by the fascists during the retreat from Malaga have been aggravated by the monstrous crimes inflicted on the land of the Basques, on the industrious Basques, who have suffered endless tortures and torments, but who are united and determined to win or to die fighting, as they have always done since ancient times. This is borne out by the entire history of this independent people, which has many a time shed its blood in legend-making battles and prevented foreign invaders from setting foot on the sacred Basque soil.

The Basque country has been reduced to ruins. Her mountainous cliffs and evergreen summits have been ploughed by fascist shells. Her towns, villages and farmhouses—the homes of a noble, strong, enterprising, honest and industrious people—have been razed to the ground.

Elbar, Durango, Guernica, Bilbao, Sestao, Mungia, industrial cities and peasant villages located on mountain slopes and in flowering valleys have fallen victim to fascist barbarity.

Thousands of slain and mutilated men, women and children bear bloody witness to the "civilization" fascism would bring to our Spain.

Peasant girls violated by legionaries, mercenaries, and Moors, who have been tempted from their African villages by the promise of "a good time" bear witness to this "patriotism" of the fascist murderers.

The noble soil of the Basques reverberates to a cry of horror in which mingle the dying wails of infants, their little bodies mutilated and their eyes staring wide with horror, dumbly interrogating the sky from which death struck them down ; the frenzied shrieks of mothers, snatching the lifeless bodies of their little ones from under the torn-up flagstones of the streets or the ruins of their shattered houses ; and the cries of the fighters as they dash forward in an irresistible urge, with fixed bayonets, to storm the enemy's positions. . . .

The sufferings of the women, the mothers of the land of the Basques, fill the whole world with ardent sympathy and evoke a storm of protest. The news of the crimes and atrocities perpetrated in the ancient Basque land reaches the trenches, the dug-outs, the aerodromes, the warships, the fronts where the struggle for the freedom and independence of Spain is being fought. It is becoming daily more difficult to restrain the indignation of our soldiers, sailors and airmen, who are asking in anger and wrath how much longer this must be allowed to continue.

Humanize warfare ? Who ? We ? . . .

Our valiant men have never tortured a single prisoner, nor violated the rules of human warfare ; they have treated prisoners

like brothers. Our aircraft has never bombarded open cities or defenceless villages ; it has never sunk to the despicable villainy of shooting down women and children. Our targets have always been munition dumps, barracks, railroad stations, and enemy columns of transport and men.

Never do our glorious airmen launch their destructive bombs on the homes of peaceful civilians, or on schools and hospitals. Even when they had a wonderful opportunity offered them by the heroism of two workers of Saragossa, our brave aviators refrained from destroying villages so that the innocent might not suffer. Contrast with these noble and humane sentiments the criminal cowardice of the rebels who daily hurl their shells at heroic Madrid, killing hundreds of people and destroying the capital of the Republic, and who sow death and misery in the villages and towns of the Basque country.

Humanize warfare ! Tell that to the fascist hirelings whose only ideal is to kill, burn and destory for the satisfaction of their sadistic instincts. Greater humaneness cannot be demanded of us.

We have been too humane, and our fighters are tired of it ; they are full of pity for the mothers and children, for our fallen comrades who have been tortured and slain.

The struggle must be waged until the enemy is fully and completely destroyed. This is demanded by the thousands of our slain ; it is passionately prayed for by our women and children, who want to live without fear of danger, free of alarm and terror.

The blood which has dyed the roads of Malaga is still fresh. Never shall we forget the ruined villages of the Basque country, that wonderful land which was among the first to bring tidings of liberty and independence to the world. The comrades who are defending the freedom of Spain at the fronts, on the sea

and in the air are all fired with the desire to destroy the enemy root and branch. This fire will never be extinguished. It will sustain the hatred for fascism in the coming generations. We shall fight until our arms are completely victorious ! Such is our slogan !

A REPLY TO ENEMIES, SLANDERERS AND VACILLATING ELEMENTS

Speech Delivered at a Meeting in Valencia, August 8, 1937

COMRADES and friends of Valencia, and all anti-fascists of Spain ! If we compare the situation in our country as it exists today with what it was in July 1936, we have reason to be satisfied, although we deeply mourn the countless sacrifices we have had to make owing to the mistaken military policy of preceding governments, owing to their failure to realize the urgent necessity of undertaking a thorough purge of the rear.

It is scarcely three days since I returned from heroic Madrid, from that tragic city, and from the fronts of Brunete, Quijorna, Villanueva de la Canada and Villanueva del Pardillo. The appearance of our men and their cheerful spirit convince us that we have a steeled and tempered army, capable of crushing fascism in our country and driving the invaders from our territory (*enthusiastic applause*), capable of destroying the hornet's nest of the bloodthirsty fascists, who are planning to turn Spain into a huge concentration camp and then to carry fascist "civilization" at the point of the bayonet into those countries which call themselves democratic but which are systematically capitulating to the fascist governments. These democratic countries should remember the words of a great thinker, words which apply perfectly to our day, words which will eternally brand with shame those who now order the destinies of these countries and who have left us to our fate. The thinker said : "Nations die not from weakness, but from cowardice." (*Loud applause.*)

It was only a few days after the outbreak of the military fascist rebellion that the Communist Party, having made a profound analysis of the factors at work in our struggle, described our war not only as a civil war provoked by the enemies of the people, and therefore a war for social liberation, but also as a war *for the preservation of national independence*, a war against invading states which were planning to partition our country.

The past few months have vividly demonstrated that the affirmations of our Party were right. It is today perfectly clear that Franco and the other rebel generals have been thrust into the background. It is not they who are leading the struggle against our people. Our men are now being fought not only by soldiers whom the betrayers of our country have managed to muster on our own territory, but also by regular Italian and German troops. And it is not for nothing that Italy and Germany are dispatching to our country the most up-todate armaments, military specialists versed in the art of slaughter, and their most savage shock units. It is no longer a matter of assisting traitors who have raised a rebellion against the Republic and against Spain, but of a plan to divide up the mineral wealth of our land, to seize all the sources of raw material in our country, to partition Spain, to turn our fatherland into an imperialist colony, and to use it as a strategic base for the world war the fascist war-mongers are hatching.

WE HAVE BEEN STEELED IN THE FIRE OF STUGGLE

But neither the traitors who started the rebellion of July 18, 1936, nor the fascist who are planning to partition our country, know the greatness and the self-sacrificing and heroic spirit of our people. They have heard about Spain as a land of castanets, about the fatalistic submissiveness of our people ; but

they do not know that alongside the age-old grief inherited from earlier generations owing to the slavery which had been forced upon the people by the ruling castes, supported by the clericals, there lives in the heart of every Spanish man and woman a passionate feeling of independence and an unconquerable love of freedom. It was this feeling that moved the inhabitants of Sagunto and Numantia to prefer death to slavery; it was this feeling that induced the ancient Basques and mountaineers to resist the Roman and Arab invasions, that urged Pelaio and the Asturians to start a victorious war, that moved the Castilian "comuneros," the brotherhoods of Valencia and Majorca and the peasants of Catalonia to rise in defence of their conquered rights and national liberties.

The fascist invaders have forgotten that Spain has once already fought a war of independence and that our people have inscribed in the annals of history the heroic and glorious pages of Gerona, Saragossa, Bailen and Madrid; and that not so long ago they also inscribed in the revolutionary history of the proletariat the golden pages of the glorious Asturian October. (*Loud applause.*) They do not know our people.

But after a year of war they began to realize that the Spain of the castanets was the figment of their own stupid and unhealthy imaginations. Experience taught them that an army of ragged, half-starved and poorly armed men was able to defeat the German divisions at Jarama and to annihilate the Italian division on the fields of Guadalajara. (*Loud applause.*) They gradually came to know us. But meanwhile we for our part have learned to know them, and some others too. We have learned to know those who would fain have branded the foreheads of our people with the slavish stigma of fascism; those who planned to harness our masses to the shameful chariot of fascist slavery. We have also seen through those who,

disguising themselves in the faded and colourless garb of democracy, are shamelessly serving the interests of fascism. We have learned that the Italian and German fascists are waging war because they cannot live without war, and because if fascism should win in Spain they will be able to divide up among themselves the raw material sources of our country and to seize strategic positions.

Fascism means war, destruction, barbarity and slavery for the nations. We have learned that the reactionary bourgeois strata of France and the aristocratic and conservative circles of democratic England are just as little anxious for the victory of our people. We are now perfectly aware that if the reactionary bourgeoisie of France and England have to choose between a fascist Spain, which will preserve the privileges of the big landowners, the big bourgeoisie, the militarists and the clericals, as well as the slavery of the masses of the people, and a democratic Spain, a free and great Spain, which will abolish these and class privileges, they will always side with the fascist regime. . . .

The reactionary bourgeois and conservative elements in the governments of the bourgeois-democratic countries knows perfectly well that on the territory of Republican Spain there are no longer any big landlords to enslave the peasants; they know perfectly well that we no longer have any bankers to fatten on usury and on the meagre savings of the people; they know perfectly well that the workers in the factories are no longer exploited by rapacious capitalists and that today the workers are no longer appendages of the machine, who can easily be sacked and replaced by new slaves, since the wives of the workers and peasants "produce" plenty of children to keep industry supplied with cheap labour power; they know perfectly well that after our victory Spain, which is a hundred years

behind the democratic countries of Europe, will begin to overtake them, and that is why they do not want our people to lead a democratic life. That is the main reason for the sly ruses of the notorious "Non Intervention" Committee, as also for the vacillations of the governments of bourgeois-democratic countries on the question of allowing our government—as is its right—to acquire every thing it requires for the conduct of the war.

Our workers, our peasants, and all our people should know what was and is the position of the governments of these countries. They should know about the crime—we will never forgive those responsible for it—which allowed Irun to fall owing to lack of cartridges, when only a few kilometres away, just beyond the Spanish border, there stood a train with cars filled with millions of cartridges intended for the rifles of our militia men. Our people should know who detained (and why) on French territory aeroplanes sent by our government in aid of the Basques when the latter were passionately imploring for aid so as not to fall in an unequal struggle. We shall never be able to forgive the crimes committed against the Spanish Republic. (*Approval.*)

Above the cowardice of some and the secret machinations of other towers the victorious land of socialism—the Soviet Union (*loud applause and cheers*), which is not only firmly and decisively defending the interests of the Spanish people in the eyes of the world, but is constantly giving us vivid proofs of its solidarity

With the aim of dismembering Republican Spain the enemies of the Spanish people are trying to evoke a separatist movement in Catalonia. They are trying to make out that Catalonia could exist as a French protectorate, that the Basque country could become a British protectorate, Majorca and

several Spanish ports of the Mediterranean transferred to Italy, and Morocco, part of the Canary Islands and other Spanish possessions be ceded to Germany. These plans are well known in what are called the high spheres of international politics. We want to call the attention of our people to these *secret fascist schemes*. I say secret, because if these things were spoken of openly the agents of the enemy in Catalonia and in all the other regions of Spain would be wiped from the face of the earth. And so you must be on your guard and keep a watch on, those who fall for this bait of terminating the war in Catalonia or in any other part of the country. In all this the hand of treachery is to be seen.

Our people should know about the vile machinations of such elements, whose actions are designed to undermine our rear, to hinder the work of the Government of the People's Front and to create difficulties, so as to clear the way for foreign intervention in our country, which means the partition of Spain. In order that they may be able to carry out their treacherous plans they want to destroy the influence of the Communist Party. And they will stop at nothing to achieve this.

What is the principal charge brought against our Party ? It is the charge of trying to "catch souls." They do not say that our Party tries to "catch souls" by seizing workers' dwellings and extorting payment for them under threat of eviction as was done in the old times by the former landlords ; they do not say that our Party forces the peasants into collective farms by threatening them with arms that would be of greater use at the front ; they do not say that our Party sets up committees that are maintained at the expense of the factory workers.

The enemy knows that if he wants to achieve his plans at the front and in the rear and to gain the upper hand over our

They say that our Party "catches souls" at the front. Well, listen, comrades of Valencia, I want to tell you a secret . . . I myself engaged in "catching souls" at the Madrid front; and I did so before military operations began.

I visited the men who were on their way to the front, the majority of whom belonged to the Communist Party, and reminded them that they were members of our Party; I told them that they must defend the Republic if need be at the expense of their lives and hold high the banner of the People's Front and of our Party . . . (*loud applause*); that they must sacrifice themselves so that their wives and children may live in freedom, peace and prosperity. And these men, who were going to face death, answered me with the greatest enthusiasm: "Tell our comrades of the Central Committee that we shall hold aloft the banner of the Party, that we shall hold aloft the banner of the Republic, and that we shall fight without thought for ourselves in order to help the Northern front and compel the enemy to withdraw his troops from there, so that our comrades in the Basque country, Santander and Asturias may be able to reorganize their forces and consolidate themselves, and in order that the women and children of Madrid may be able to sleep in peace. We will do our utmost to drive the enemy from the gates of the capital of the Republic." (*Applause.*)

That is what I did to "catch souls." And these men, who had promised on their honour as communists to fight to their last drop of blood, for three weeks—I saw it myself—beat back some of the most frenzied attacks in this war; they stood firm, not surrendering an inch of territory, although, as the rebels themselves admit, the enemy during these attacks poured into

Brunete over 10,000 artillery shells, not to mention the bombardments from the air.

And when, at the order of the high command, these men retreated so as to straighten out the line, I again visited them in order to ascertain their political and moral state. I found them just as they were before the attack, and full of passionate desire to resume the battle against the enemy whenever the command should order it. But when I saw the devastation wrought in the ranks of our comrades I had to fight hard to control the sobs which choked me. (*The audience, profoundly stirred, rises to its feet and greets Pasionaria's last words with round after round of cheering.*)

And so, if "catching souls" means fighting better than anyone else ; if "catching souls" means sending the best people in our Party to the front and to work in the rear ; if "catching souls" means performing heroic exploits such as were shown by our comrades from Malaga, then I vow to you, comrades, that we shall continue this "catching of souls" in the future. (*Applause. Voices in the audience demand an investigation into the fall of Malaga and the punishment of the traitors. Shouts of : "To prison with the murderer general !"*) They should be put on trial. And I assure you that some of those in very high posts will have to face, if not a squad of soldiers, at least the tribunal.

We want the minds of every worker and peasant to be seared with the conviction that those who are fighting the Communist Party, whatever beautiful phrases they may use as a camouflage, are enemies of our revolution and enemies of the people.

EVERYONE MUST FEEL THE WAR

We are on the eve of big battles. Fascism has no intention of loosening its grasp on the booty it has seized and already

considers its own, while we have no intention of allowing fascism to accomplish its criminal designs. (*Approval.*)

But in order to prepare for the big battles that await us in the very near future, we must not only organize the army which has become steeled and tempered in battle, but must also establish *order in the rear*. The carelessness and thoughtlessness which are to be observed in the rear must be put a stop to once and for all. There are still places that have not been reached by the din of war, where people consider it a nuisance to provide a few refugees with provisions and shelter. There are some who consider it possible to stand aloof from the war and to utilize it only for their personal profit. We must realize that if our army is to fight successfully the rear must supply it with everything it needs.

And in the first place we must put an end to the "fifth column" once and for all. We have grown hoarse constantly insisting on this, and we hope that the government will at length hear our voice. As Comrade Jóse Diaz said, this "fifth column" is somehow so long that we cannot see the end of it.

We must help the government in the work of purging the rear and, besides, every one of us individually must be vigilant with regard to those around us. We must, without the slightest hesitation, and casting off all sentimentality, expose all whom we suspect of hostility to our system of society.

The workers must receive enough to satisfy their elementary needs. *Equalitarianism in wages must be put a stop to.* Proper wage scales must be established and every worker must be paid according to his output. (*Loud applause.*) We cannot say to the worker : "You must make sacrifices and therefore should not ask for higher wages," at a time when we see profiteers who are taking advantage of the hunger of the people, and

shameless traders and various committees who want to grow rich at the expense of the people inordinately raising the prices of prime necessities.

We must proclaim war on the profiteers. Those who trade on the hunger of the people must be hunted like beasts of prey. The government must be got to call a halt—and we hope, we know, that it is prepared to do so—to those who refuse to heed the efforts of the workers and who screw up prices to such a pitch as to provoke the discontent of the people.

And the government must be told that in the work of purging the rear all the anti-fascist forces of Spain will be on its side and will help it. The history of our country offers a splendid lesson of how to treat law-breakers, how to treat those who do not obey the laws made in the interests of the people.

I want to remind you of a story, a somewhat ancient story but one that is always up-to-date—the story of the belfry of Huesca. There was once a king of Huesca named Ramiro who passed laws which the aristocrats refused to obey. Not knowing what to do about it, the king turned for advice to a certain abbot, his former tutor and governor. He sent one of his most loyal servants to him. On hearing the complaint of King Ramiro, the abbot said nothing, but taking up a knife went into the garden and began to prune the highest branches. "What am I to tell my king?" the servant asked. "Tell him what I am doing," answered the abbot. King Ramiro at once understood what the abbot meant. He cut off the heads of all the aristocrats and formed of them what came to be known as the belfry of Huesca. And we say to the government: "As many belfries of Huesca must be erected as may be needed to purge the rear of . . ." (*The speaker's words are drowned in applause.*)

THERE MUST BE ORDER IN THE REAR !

Each of us must place the interests of the war above all other interests. Those who, relying on their past revolutionary services, are consciously or unconsciously helping fascism to carry out its plans in our rear must be told that we will not suffer them to engage in such undermining activities. And those workers who still doubt that these people are capable of serving the interests of the enemies of the people must be reminded of the living examples of history. After all, Mussolini was once the editor of the socialist newspaper *Avanti !* and Bordiga was the leader of the Italian extremist group ; yet Mussolini is now the leader of fascism and Bordiga is his servant.

Why cannot the same thing happen in Spain ? Facts prove one thing, that among those who once fought in the ranks of the proletariat there are some who are now on the other side of the barricades, and some who, while remaining in the ranks of the proletariat, are serving the interests of the enemy, opposing unity, and thwarting and sabotaging the work of the government. . . .

ROOT OUT TROTSKYISM !

When we insist on the necessity of fighting Trotskyism, we encounter a strange state of affairs. In the ranks of certain organizations and certain circles in certain parties voices are raised in defence of Trotskyism. They are the voices of people who are themselves imbued with this counter-revolutionary ideology. The Trotskyites have long ago become agenst of the fascists, agents of the German Gestapo. And we saw this in practice during the May putsch in Catalonia ; we have seen it with our own eyes during the revolts that have broken out in several other places. And it will be seen by everyone when

the trial of the leaders of the P.O.U.M. for espionage begins. (*Shouts of "Down with the P.O.U.M., death to the traitors!"*) And we can see the hand of fascism in all actions aimed at demoralizing our rear and undermining the prestige of the Republic. For this reason we must destroy Trotskyism with a firm hand, for it is no longer a political tendency among the working class but has become a weapon of counter-revolution.

Trotskyism must be exterminated in our country as one exterminates poisonous plants. The Trotskyites must be exterminated and destroyed like beasts of prey for otherwise, at the decisive moment, when our forces will want to take the offensive, we will be unable to do so on account of the disorders provoked in our rear by the Trotskyites. Trotskyism must be exterminated so that our men at the front may be able to fight without fearing a stab in the back. We must put an end to these traitors once and for all.

A UNITED PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT

In order to accomplish these tasks, to bring order into industry and to purge the rear of enemies, one prime condition is required, of which Comrades Palau and Comorera have already spoken. Comrade Comorera has told us how valuable the creation of a united party of the proletariat has been in Catalonia. And although we never rest content with work already done (because we always think that a great deal more could be done), we are in general satisfied with the work done by our United Socialist Party of Catalonia. We also point—and have already been doing so for a long time—to the necessity of uniting both proletarian parties into a single party of the proletariat.

We have repeatedly spoken of the nature of our defence, of the significance of our revolution, and we have always asserted

that the proletariat has an historic mission to perform in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, namely, to unite around itself all the democratic forces in order to get them to march in step with the revolutionary vanguard. But the proletariat can fulfil this task only if a united party of the proletariat and united trade unions are created. Then all anti-fascists will march faster in a united front towards the great, flourishing and happy Spain for which our people are now shedding their blood. (*Loud applause.*)

That is why our Party, which has succeeded in becoming the greatest political force in Spain, realizes that the successful direction of the war, and the triumph of the revolution which is going on in our country, requires the rapid amalgamation of the two parties. We have encountered a strong desire on the part of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to bring about this amalgamation and thus achieve the prime condition for victory. But within the Socialist Party itself voices have been raised disapproving of this. They are the voices of people who but yesterday, when they considered themselves prominent figures, advocated unity, not daring to oppose the will of the workers. But in spite of such voices here and there, the striving for unity among the rank-and-file members of the Socialist Party is so great that some organizations, the one in Albacete for instance, have already organized not contact committees but amalgamation committees, and are now jointly discussing all problems involving the defence of the interests of the proletariat.

Every one of us, comrades of Valencia, must remember the necessity of uniting, soldering and riveting the two parties of the proletariat into a single indivisible whole, and should set an example to other organizations, especially to the republican parties, which by likewise merging into one republican party

might become very influential in some of the districts of our country.

A UNITED PARTY WILL HASTEN VICTORY

Details and trifles must be brushed aside. We must not nurse feelings of personal rancour. We must rise above those petty personal differences which induce some people to oppose unity, and remember that by himself the individual is nothing and that the people are everything; we must think of the common interests of our people.

Every one of us must be a determined fighter for unity: everyone must follow his leaders when, imbued with the spirit of unity, they march with us; everyone must march without his leaders when they put up obstacles to unity; everyone must go against his leaders when they oppose the amalgamation of the proletariat. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrade, the Communist Party is once again showing you the road to victory, namely, a rear purged of fascists; an industry working for defence purposes; a countryside working industriously; a proletariat satisfied with its conditions and aware that it will never again be an object of exploitation; a People's Front, uniting all the anti-fascist forces; a unified party of the proletariat, directing the revolution in our country in alliance with all the anti-fascist forces.

You must thoroughly realize the road to victory pointed out by the Communist Party. And when you have become convinced that our line is correct, when you have come to see that the Communist Party does not confine itself to slogans, that now, as in the very first days and months of the rebellion, it takes its place at the front, digging trenches and doing everything to further victory; when you see that we not only put forward slogans but, at the price of the sacrifices borne by our

brothers, clothe these slogans in flesh and blood—then come to us, workers of Valencia, workers of all Spain! Then, with your assistance, we shall lead you to the victory. (*The audience rises and greets Pasionaria with long bursts of applause and cheers.*)

Frente Rojo, August, 9, 1937

A LETTER TO MY CHILDREN

ON this International Youth Day I want to spare some time from my work to write to you, my children, who become dearer to me every day. I want to remind you of the past when poverty and privation was your lot. I want to tell you a little about the present and to show the future prospects that face our youth and our people.

Our life in the old Spain was hard—as it is hard to this day in that part of Spain which has been seized by the fascists : starvation wages, wretched housing conditions, slavery, lack of all that adorns life, poverty and fear of the immediate future. The children of workers and peasants grew up to be adults without ever finding employment, as there were too many hands. Legions of unemployed boys and girls wandered about the streets of the big towns and hung about the village squares. There was no work. They thought that so it would be for ever !

Their thoughts wandered far, over seas and mountains to the country where youth is happy, where culture, art, science and prosperity are not the prerogative of a handful of rulers, but the common possession of the labouring people, the workers and peasants. Like a beacon gleaming in the dark night, the Soviet Union, the Land of Socialism, illumined their way and filled their hearts with hope. And they too refused to submit to their fate. They too fought to put an end to such a state of affairs. They demanded not only political and social rights, but the most elementary thing of all, the right to live, which was refused to them when they were refused work. How many of them perished in the struggle !

International Youth Day! Do you remember, my son? You were still a child, yet you demonstrated along with the young men and women.

Your sister Amaya was frightened: she was so little and the gendarmes were so brutal. They beat and even killed children, as well as adults. How brave our boys were! Do you remember coming home with such pride from demonstrations which were so full of incident and conflict and telling me all that had happened to you, as if I did not know?

But all this, my children, belongs to the past, and the momory of the days of the old struggle pales before the grandeur of the times in which we are now living. Now every day is a day of dramatic struggle, when the youth, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the adults, are inscribing with their blood splendid pages in the annals of Spain's struggle for freedom.

Our glorious Communist Party, which nearly always had to work illegally and was constantly persecuted, steeled its members in the fighting spirit and educated the youth to heroism and self-sacrifice.

And today, the communists are setting a splendid example of boldness, bravery and determination to the fighters on all the fronts.

Under the pressure of our forces and of the daily growth and increasing influence of our Party, the enemy is endeavouring to demoralize and split our ranks, but in vain.

And in our country, as in many others, Trotskyism criminally attempted, in the interests of fascism, to shatter the granite unity of the United Socialist Youth League. It failed. Nevertheless, by smuggling its pseudo-revolutionary wares into organizations which do not possess the Marxist foundation of our Party, it was able to instigate the criminal putsch in Catalonia which cost the lives of hundreds of workers. But the masses are coming to

realize more clearly every day the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism, which they hate with all their soul, and in whose machinations the hand of fascism can be clearly perceived.

With the ability of veterans and a maturity acquired in the daily struggle, our youth, trained by living reality, that is, by the experiences of all nations, were perfectly able to detect the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotsyism. All the latter's plans proved futile in face of the revolutionary consciousness of our youth, who regard our Party as the staunch and faithful leader and guide of the mass of the people, and especially of the mass of the youth, as the leader and guide that is conducting them along the path to economic and social freedom.

What shall I tell you of our struggle, my children ? It is becoming more bitter every day. But in spite of everything our faith in victory is stronger now than at first. This is not an empty phrase. We might be asked why we are today so certain of our victory. Let us recall under what conditions we began the fight. Our troops went to the front without weapons: they had to wait until a comrade fell in order to get a rifle. Our fighters were armed with nothing but their courage. It should not be forgotten that while fighting the German, Italian and Portugese armies, the fascists, phalangists, Moors and the rebel officers, we had to create an army and an air force in face of the whole world, in face of the governments of the democratic countries which had abandoned Spain to her fate ; at the cost of great sacrifices and in the midst of innumerable difficulties, we had to create a munitions industry which we formerly did not possess.

When I tell you how Spain was abandoned by countries which ought to have regarded her cause, namely, the cause of democracy and freedom, as their own, I must make an exception in the case of one country—the Uuion of Soviet Socialist Republics ! Spain

feels and will always feel the deepest gratitude—a gratitude which nobody and nothing can diminish—to the Land of Socialism and to Comrade Stalin, the great defender of our cause.

The unarmed and badly-clothed militia of the early days are today replaced by an army which is becoming stronger and better disciplined every day. We have an air force which is our pride and which puts fear into the heart of the enemy. We are creating a munitions industry. And, lastly, our people are capable of any act of heroism, of any sacrifice, while the influence of our Party is making itself more strongly felt every day, and ever fresh forces are flocking to its ranks.

I do not know how long this frightful war that is drenching our soil with blood and rending our country to pieces will last. But I am convinced that the victory will be ours, and that in the end we shall annihilate once and for all the castes and privileges which devastated Spain, hampered her progress and compelled the workers and peasants to live in misery, poverty and slavery. The sacrifices made by our finest people will open to our youth the road to work, science, art, culture, prosperity and peace. Their days will not be embittered by the struggle for existence, but will be festivals of victory. And that all this is not a dream, not an illusion built on sand, but a fact that will become a living reality, is shown by those profound changes which have taken place in the status and condition of the youth in Republican Spain.

My children, when you celebrate International Youth Day in the midst of the happiest youth in the world, do not forget your brothers who are dying on the fronts of Spain, fighting for a free and just future.

I embrace you a thousand times.

Your mother

Pravda, September 6, 1937

HELP US WIN !

Speech Delivered in the Velodrome, Paris, December 3, 1937

DEMOCRATS of France, comrades and friends, it is over a year since I first spoke from this world tribune. At that time every day saw countless hardships, incredible sufferings and frightful privations inflicted on our people, and the blood of the finest sons of Spain flowed in streams in defence of peace, democracy and liberty.

I came here then to recount and explain to the public throughout the world the meaning of our struggle, the significance of the war which had been fomented by the betrayers of our fatherland and which for sixteen months now has been annihilating people, towns and villages of our martyred Spain.

Your protest against the invasion of our territory by German and Italian armies, your demands that aeroplanes and guns be sent to Rupublican Spain showed then that you understood what danger a victory of the forces of reaction and fascism, which had launched themselves against our country, would entail for France, democratic France, the France of the "rights of man."

And we have come here before you again. Not with broken spirit have we come—the burden of our struggle has not crushed us ! For, although our country has been invaded by Italian and German fascist hordes, although the democratic countries at whose doors we knocked have abandoned us to our fate, we bring to you together with the salutations of our people our assurance that the cause of the Spanish Republic will triumph. (*Loud applause and cheers.*)

We have come here, as the Spanish comrades who have already spoken have said, to tear down the web of lies and vile calumny that has been woven round our struggle.

We have come to assure you, in the name of genuine democracy, that Spain is not thinking of an armistice, that Spain does not want a compromise, that Spain is imbued with only one thought and one aspiration—to crush fascism. (*Cheers.*)

Talk about compromise and armistice is not and never will be heard on the fronts of Republican Spain. Our men are fighting fiercely and are ready to shed their last drop of blood in the struggle against the traitors. With their dying gaze, the Republican warriors see before them the bright image of a free and happy Spain.

You will not hear a single word about compromise and armistice in our factories or in our fields. Our workers and peasants are working whole days at a stretch so that our valiant men may suffer no shortage of arms or provisions.

You will never hear the words of compromise and armistice on the lips of our Spanish women, before whose eyes fascist machine guns mow down their children, and who call down revenge on the murderers.

The suggestion of a compromise and armistice can only come from disguised enemies, from cowards, from those who owing to fear or treachery do not wish to help our people in their struggle against reaction and fascism. They evidently hoped that they could convince the masses that the situation in Republican Spain has become unbearable. They tried by talk of an armistice to demoralize those who would fain come to our aid.

Do you know, friends, why they are talking about compromise just now, when our position at the fronts is more stable than ever? Because the enemies understand perfectly well

that the military, economic and political situation of Republican Spain is stronger than ever before, and it is scaring them.

We have suffered reverses—that is true. At the beginning of the war we suffered defeats—that is so. But these reverses and defeats were caused by the fact that we had no army and no munitions industry. Our men went to the front unarmed, hoping to win by courage alone, while the enemy received trained troops, arms and munitions—everything he needed—from abroad.

Now, after eighteen months of war, having learned many a bitter lesson in fierce battles and furious engagements, we can appear before you and before the world democracy with a feeling of pride. We have come here to tell you that Spain has an army and the necessary reserves. It is a disciplined and organized military force, firmly knit and equipped with modern means of warfare. We are obliged for these achievements to our workers, whose heroic efforts have created a munitions industry to supply our men with arms. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Moreover, we have firm order in the rear, we have the faith of the people in their government of the People's Front, the unshakeable determination of our men not to retreat a single step, to meet the attacks of the enemy staunchly and confidently, and to destroy him in a victorious offensive.

True, we have lost the provinces of the North. That was a severe blow to us. I shall not dwell here on the reasons for this loss. History itself will show who was to blame for this defeat. It will brand those who prevented our Asturian brothers, the glorious defenders of Irun, from receiving the carloads of rifles and cartridges consigned to our Republic through French territory.

It was not due to lack of courage on the part of our men that the North fell. No! They fought like lions. The North

fell because of the policy of so-called non-intervention. This "non-intervention" deprived our brothers who were defending the North of arms and munitions, while the fascists were receiving troops and munitions from Italy and Germany without let or hindrance. (*Indignant cries from the audience : "Open the Spanish frontier !"*)

Despite all this, Republican Spain is staunchly holding her own. She has no intention of dying, but will fight and win, crush fascism, defend her independence and simultaneously rid the world of the nightmare menace of war which a victory for fascism would unleash.

We know that in Spain the future of Europe is at stake. We know that history has laid on our people the mission of defending and saving the democratic principles of the French Revolution from fascism.

Spain has once again been called upon to give the world a demonstration of her invincibility.

Our heroic people, without a moment's hesitation, accepted the contest forced upon them by the enemy. In the inexhaustible springs of energy of her folk, Republican Spain found the strength to resist not only the attacks of the traitors but also the barbaric invasion of the German and Italian armies of intervention.

The fight is a severe one. It has launched the dark and barbaric past against a people which desires to live and be happy, to live in freedom in a democratic country.

Those who assert that the fascist forces in Spain are fighting to prevent the establishment of a communist regime are shamelessly lying. Democrats of France, with all the authority of one who belongs to the leadership of the Spanish Communist Party, I declare to you that our Party—one of the biggest political forces in our country—is fighting in the vanguard, side

by side with all the anti-fascist forces, for peace, liberty and democracy, in order that the Republic may continue its democratic path, and in order that the Spanish people may march to the progress to which they are entitled.

In vain do the fascists and reactionaries of all countries try to pervert the meaning of our struggle. They will delude nobody by asserting that they are fighting communism. A few days ago de Brouckere, Chairman of the Second International, rightly warned all democrats against this lie. Fascism is pleading a struggle against communism as an excuse for the war. But with the fascists everything that does not belong to fascism is communism.

Has not Mussolini made this quite clear? This butcher of the Italian workers said in a recent speech that the enemies of fascism "are the liberals, the parliamentary democrats, the Bolsheviks, socialists and communists, and also certain Catholics with whom we shall settle accounts sooner or later." Does this leave any room for doubt? The fascist crusade is directed against everything that bears the stamp of humaneness and progress.

Mussolini, that tragic buffoon, claimed that all Europe would soon be fascist. People are fighting and dying in Spain to prevent this! His prophecy will never come true! We tell him on his face that Spain will become a stronghold of democracy, and that Europe will never be fascist! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

I shall briefly describe the situation that existed in our country at the moment of the outbreak of the military-fascist rebellion.

Spain had been through "the black years," during which the reactionaries drowned in the blood of the people the protest movement that had arisen in October 1934, and ruled the

country with a despotic hand. You know what terroristic methods were adopted to suppress the liberation movement in Asturias, that wonderful demonstration of the Asturian miners who at the price of their blood wanted to prevent the rule of reaction in Spain.

Over 30,000 people were cast into prison. Everyone suspected of participating in the liberation movement was savagely tortured.

The terror only increased the hatred of the people for the butchers' government.

Seeing the growing discontent of the masses, this government decided to shuffle the elections and thus ensure the victory of reaction. It hoped in this way to establish fascism supposedly by lawful means.

But despite the millions spent by the defenders of Spanish feudalism the aristocrats, and by the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie, it was the democratic forces, the People's Front, that won.

Nevertheless, the reactionary elements secured the return to parliament of about 200 of their deputies, and these engaged in unrestrained fascist propaganda.

Thus the People's Front gained a victory at the elections over reaction. The new parliament and the republican government that was formed were the lawful representatives of the Spanish people.

It was against this lawful power that the military fascists rebelled. I want to call your attention, comrades, to the similarity of the methods of those who are called "Cagoulards" in your country and those who engaged in subversive activities in our country before the rebellion.

The reactionary elements in our country would not reconcile themselves to their defeat at the February elections. They

were afraid of the strength and might of the People's Front. They decided to act as your "Cagoulards" are acting in France: they organized assassinations and killed prominent Lefts, formed stores of arms—in a word, they tried by means of innumerable acts of provocation against the working people to terrorize the country. That is how the reactionaries prepared for a coup d'etat.

It was useless for them to think of enslaving the Spanish people without resorting to open violence. Our people responded to violence with heroism and the determination to destroy the traitors. They showed that they had no intention of submitting to the fascist yoke. Let the fascists who are attacking us know that Spain will never be crushed beneath their bloody jackboot. The cause of democracy, peace and liberty will triumph in our country despite everything. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades of France, you must not remain passive in face of the fascist menace, irrespective of whether it is directed aganist our country or any other country. You must always be mindful of what the victory of fascism would entail for all countries and all nations.

A man prominent in French political life recently said, in reference to the danger of a German invasion, that if the Germans should try to set foot on French soil your whole country would rise up against the invader. This is a superficial view of things and reveal a certain naivete.

The fact is that fascism first prepares the way for its aggressive plans through its agents. That is how Japan acted in China, and how Italy and Germany acted in Spain. The fascist governments of Berlin and Rome understand perfectly well that if they had immediately hurled their forces of intervention into Spain many of the military men now in the ranks of the rebels would have refused to co-operate with them from motives of patriotism.

The methods of the fascist aggressors, therefore, consist in first provoking a rebellion, so as to tie the hands of the government. When the government, embroiled in an internal struggle, is unable to protect its frontiers, the moment for intervention arrives.

Let the French people, when combating fascism, remember our bitter lesson if they want to avoid the horrors of war like the one which is now devastating our land!

If, dear friends, you compare the activities of the "Cagoulards" with those of the Spanish fascists you will realize that what I say is true. (*Shouts of "Right, quite right! Down with the rebels! To jail with the Cagoulards!"*)

A few days ago *Matin*, the French reactionary newspaper, asserted that we, the delegates of the Spanish People's Front, not satisfied with the rivers of blood shed in Spain, want to open the red floodgates of civil war in France. . . .

As a woman and a mother, and as a Spanish citizen, I declare that this is a vile calumny!

We love peace profoundly. We have come to France as heralds of peace and not as emissaries of war! (*Loud applause.*) We want the French people to avoid the suffering and incredible sacrifices which the Spanish people have had to bear in the struggle against fascism. We want to spare French women the boundless grief of the mothers, wives and sisters of Spain before whose eyes fascist machine guns mow down their children, brothers and husbands.

After the victory of the People's Front we lived in peace. Our democracy was developing in a normal way, healing the wounds of the period of reaction.

It is just because we love peace so profoundly that we were forced to go to war. And we are waging war because the reactionaries and fascists forced it upon us.

It was not we who raised revolt, but they, helping Germany and Italy to carry out their plans of fascizing Europe.

But fascism, comrades of France, is a sign of weakness and not of strength. If the democratic nations, if only from motives of self-preservation, do their duty, fascism will be crushed and all that will remain of it will be a painful memory, as of some monstrous crime! (*Loud applause*).

It is not only we, the communists, who affirm this. Recall the words of an American democrat, President Roosevelt, who said that innocent nations and peoples are made the victims of a lust for power and supremacy which recognizes no justice or humane feelings; that the liberty, peace and security of 90 per cent of the population of the world are menaced by the other 10 per cent who are trampling the principles of international law underfoot: and that the 90 per cent must find the means of asserting their will.

We Spanish anti-fascists subscribe to the words of Roosevelt and suggest that you ponder over them. We, who form part of this 90 per cent, we who live in Republican Spain, have taken up arms to defend ourselves from the aggression of home and foreign fascism.

The struggle of the Spanish people is not only a struggle against rebels and the forces of intervention, but also a struggle against imperialist fascism, against the 10 per cent, stigmatized by Roosevelt, who thirst for power and supremacy.

And yet we are alone in this titanic conflict between fascism and democracy. . . . Alone? No, not entirely. For far away lives a people whose example is an inspiration to all who are fighting for a better future, a people in whose midst, as in a protected fortress, all who are persecuted by world reaction find refuge. . . . There is a land, the Land of Socialism—the Soviet Union—which has extended a hand

to us across borders, continents and seas and has helped us, openly declaring to the world that our cause is not the cause of Spain alone but the cause of all advanced and progressive mankind !

In the name of all the fighters in our country who are shedding their blood for freedom, we thank this great nation, which, despite the distance that separates us, inspires us and assists us despite all obstacles. (*The audience rises and loudly cheers. Cries : "Long live the Soviet Union ! Long live Stalin !"*)

We also feel the active solidarity of the proletariat of all countries and of all who love democracy. Unfortunately, this assistance is not as effective as it might be because the governments of the democratic countries retreat all too easily in face of fascism, and some of them are even talking of granting belligerent rights to Franco.

Is that possible ? We refuse to believe it ! But if such an insane crime is committed, we, who are sacrificing everything, we, who are sacrificing the flower of our youth in defence of democracy and peace, will not hold ourselves responsible for what happens in Europe.

We want France, whom we deeply love, to correctly appraise the real state of affairs : Spain has an army of over half a million men ; and if the youth of pre-recruitment age are reckoned this figure will reach one million. If we win the war, this army will serve as a guarantee of freedom, democracy and peace. But if, owing to the cowardice of those in whose hands the fate of democracy lies, the German and Italian fascists continue to dispatch munitions and troops against us, if at the same time our frontiers remain closed, if the naval blockade continues, if, owing to all this our Republic is destroyed, then, people of France, do not forget that you too will be in immediate danger. What good will

the Maginot line be then? None whatever: Danger will come then not only from Germany but also from the Pyrenees. (*Shouts of "Open the Spanish frontier!"*)

I said at the beginning that we have come here once again to affirm our unshakeable faith in victory. And I repeat: yes, we are confident that we shall win. But we need your help.

The sacrifices extorted from our people have been immense. Many mothers have lost their children, much of the wealth of our country has been destroyed. Of course, we have enough determination, bravery and heroism to fight on as need be. But we lack much that our enemy has in abundance. Such a situation cannot and must not continue any longer.

We can resist the enemy and we are prepared—I stress this with all emphasis—to force the enemy to smash his head against our fortifications.

But you must always remember that we need flour and butter. You must not forget that if the rebels continue to receive aid as heretofore—and the only thing the "Non-Intervention" Committee does is allow the fascists to arm—the struggle will be more difficult for us, despite the strength of our army.

You, workers of France, can do a lot. And jointly with the British workers you can do everything.

Every day the fascists are increasingly straining their forces for an annihilating crusade. On the other hand, the proletariat, the peoples, must unite to prevent the further spread of this scourge of mankind and to ensure peace throughout the world.

Anti-fascists of France, your ancestors stormed the Bastille, that symbol of feudal tyranny! You must not forget the heroic traditions of your people. You must not forget that Spain is not only fighting for its own independence, but for the freedom

and peace of the whole world, that she is fighting for democracy and for the happiness of all nations.

If we are crushed France will soon suffer the convulsions of counter-revolution, as the armed conspiracy of the "Cagoulards" and their criminal plans show.

Let faith live in your hearts ! You must compel your leaders to abandon mutual recriminations and rancour and exert every effort to create a unified anti-fascist bloc against the machinations of fascism and reaction whether at home or from abroad. (*Applause. Cries of "Unity ! Unity !"*)

Not only life itself, but something that is dearer than life is in danger ; because it is far more painful for people who are fighting slavery to lose their freedom and dignity than to lose their lives.

Do not forget that the future of the whole world is at stake.

You must remember the sacrifices borne by the Spanish workers, the anti-fascists of our country, the mothers and wives who are losing children, husbands and fathers in the struggle against fascism.

Working people of France, see to it that our sacrifices shall not have been in vain. Do all in your power so that we may triumph ! And you can do it if you do not allow Franco to continue to receive aid from Berlin and Rome, if you do not allow him to be granted belligerent rights.

Try to secure for the lawful government of the Spanish Republic the right to trade freely, the right to acquire whatever it needs to defend itself from the aggressor—the right of which it has been deprived in defiance of all juridical standards.

In Spain socialists, communists, republicans and anarchists are fighting side by side. They cannot understand why the leaders of the Second International refuse, under various pretexts, to respond to the call of the Third, Communist

International for joint action on behalf of our people. Let but the tremendous forces of the international proletariat unite and we are certain that fascism will be unable to go on spilling the blood of the nations.

What are they waiting for to bring about unity ? Have not our people shed enough blood yet ? Have not other nations whom fascism wanted to subjugate shed enough blood ? (*Cries of "Unity ! Unity !" from all parts of the hall.*)

Socialists, leaders of the Second International, the appeal of the Spanish people and the Communist International for united action must be answered by you !

In France the Bastille has been destroyed, but if a misfortune should happen and Spain be defeated—which, of course, will not be, we will never permit it !—bear in mind that the reaction will erect in France a new Bastille, as it would like to erect one in every country.

People of France, help us to win the war, and you will by that act be defending yourselves from your enemies, who are at the same time our enemies.

Let no one have cause to come to you and say what Aiksa said to his son Baodil after the fall of Granada : "Bewail like a woman what you could not defend like a man !" (*The audience rises in a storm of cheers and applause.*)

Spain Will Win. !
People's Propaganda Committee
Paris, 1937

WE ARE MORE CERTAIN OF VICTORY THAN EVER

*Interviewed by Louis Aragon**

"WHAT has brought you to Paris?" Aragon asked Pasionaria.

"I have come with a delegation of the Spanish People's Front to tell the French people, its representatives, the parties of the People's Front, and those who bear responsibility for the destiny of France about the true state of affairs in our country.

Some have tried to prove that our cause is doomed. Some assert that our army is impotent; others declare that the government is intending to start negotiations for the termination of the war and that the Spanish people are rent by profound differences.

None of this is true. *We are now more certain of victory than ever.* The Spanish people are closely united and the daily difficulties only strengthen this unity.

Unity of action between communists and socialists is now firmer than ever, and the democratic forces are rallying around the government of the People's Front, headed by Comrade Negrin. The People's Front will undoubtedly lead us to victory."

"And what about the anarchists?"

"Like us they realize the necessity of unity if Franco is to be destroyed. The Communist Party maintains splendid relations with the anarchists and, as I have already said in parliament, we hope that they will yet play a much more important role in the ranks of the People's Front."

* Editor of the Paris anti-fascist evening newspaper, *Ce Soir.—Ed.*

"Does the republican government enjoy prestige ?"

"You know that at one time Republican Spain underwent a period of profound disorganization. But today the government enjoys undoubted prestige all over the country, where it really exercises power in the political, military and economic fields. That is one of the decisive factors in our struggle for the defeat of fasism in Spain."

"What is your opinion of the military situation ?"

"Despite the severe blow we have suffered in the loss of the North, which had been condemned to complete isolation by the so-called policy of non-intervention, and despite the fact that the fall of the North enabled the enemy to swell his forces on other fronts, the military situation is more favourable for us today than ever in the past.

We have an army supplied with modern technical equipment, firmly united, and led by tried commanders who come from the ranks of the people and are devoted to the people, and who have already mastered the art of war, having learnt it during eighteen months at the front and in the special schools we have set up.

The militia detachments of the early months of the war, which had been formed by parties and trade union organizations, have now been welded into a firmly-united powerful army under a single command. Our army and its command are an expression of the will of the People's Front.

Had it not been for the policy of "non-intervention," we would have been able to supply our army with modern technical equipment at a much quicker rate, and Franco would already have been smashed. Nevertheless, thanks to the heroic efforts of our people, we have created a munitions industry which, despite everything, enables us, although, it is true, to an insufficient extent, to supply our army with the munitions it needs."

"Have you big army reserves ?"

"Besides military reserves in the true sense of the word, pre-recruitment training of young people has already been introduced finally and for good. Military training is now given in all factories and in all villages and towns. The whole people is now under arms."

"Do you not think that the means at Franco's disposal considerably surpass your own ?"

"Unfortunately, that does not depend on us. We know that the means at Franco's disposal were supplied by Germany and Italy. That state of affairs still continues : he is receiving all he needs to wage war, and in even greater quantities than before.

The bloc of fascist countries is helping Franco, and we have the indisputable right to count on somewhat more generous international solidarity from the democratic countries, for the cause which we are defending is not the cause of Spain alone but that of the democracy and the peoples of all countries. For this reason we ask the democratic countries not to render any direct or indirect assistance to Franco, as they have been doing all along."

"What is your opinion of the proposed withdrawal of volunteers ?"

"First of all I should like to express my astonishment that the hirelings of fascism are classed on the same footing as the people who have voluntarily come to Spain to defend the peace and freedom of the world. But the question of withdrawing all foreigners from Spain has been raised, and we think it time to put an end to the farce played by the government of Berlin and Rome when they declare that they are evacuating their soldiers from Spain, when as a matter of fact they are only evacuating the wounded and sick, and at the same time continue to send fresh military units. We

demand the withdrawal of the Italian and German forces of occupation from Spain. All nations that are concerned about their own security should help us in this."

"Can you tell me something about the general state of the country ?"

"Our government is a democratic government in which are directly represented the republicans, the Basques, socialists, communists and the Catalonian republicans.

The government is guided by the principles of the Republican constitution. It has adopted measures for the improvement of the conditions of the peasants. It has done a great deal to create better conditions for the small owners. The large feudal estates, on the other hand, the estates of those who took part in the revolt against the people, have been handed over to the peasants, small tenant farmers, and agricultural labourers. Never have the peasants been so firmly devoted to the Republic.

As to industry, the workers have displayed amazing examples of self-sacrifice, while the government has done everything in its power to secure for them better conditions of labour and better conditions of life. Never have the factories been in such good condition and never have they functioned so smoothly."

"And what is the position with regard to supplies ?"

"We have difficulties and we make no attempt to conceal them. We are obliged to keep considerable forces of men under arms and consequently they cannot engage in productive labour. Besides, the population of the districts of Republican Spain has increased on account of the millions of refugees from the territory occupied by the fascists. Finally, we are in dire need of certain goods that have to be imported. We have huge quantities of oranges, but lack flour ; we have enough olives but not enough potatoes ; we have a lot of wine but too little milk.

We want to express to the French people, whom we sincerely love, our profound gratitude for the assistance they have rendered the Spanish people. But the tremendous forces launched by fascism to crush us compels us again to draw attention to the necessity of increasing international aid, so that we may win more quickly and lighten the sufferings of our people, and so that Hitler and Mussolini, defeated in Spain, may not dare to start a conflagration in other countries. And when I say that, I have France particularly in mind."

Mundo Obrero, December 6, 1937

UNITY IS THE GUARANTEE OF VICTORY

Speech Delivered at a Meeting in Celebration of the Victory of February 16, 1936

COMRADES !

In various historical epochs the month of February has been rich in symbolical dates, memorable days and noteworthy events which have left their indelible impress on the lives of nations.

In February 1873 there occurred the victory of the first Spanish Republic.

In February 1917 there occurred the Russian Revolution which overthrew tsardom and prepared the ground for the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In February 1933 the butchers of the German people burned down the Reichstag.

In February 1934 the Asturian proletariat rose up against fascism.

UNDER THE BANNER OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT !

In February 1936, after the horrible nightmare of the "two black years," the Second Republic was won under the banner of the People's Front.

At the elections of 1933 the reactionary bloc had inflicted defeat on the forces of Spanish democracy, which were torn by profound discord and differences.

The suppression of the armed uprising of the workers in the Asturias, which tried to prevent the establishment of fascism in Spain, served as an unforgettable and bloody lesson to the

democrats and the working masses . . . Hundreds were slain, tens of thousands were imprisoned . . . The result was too tragic to be ignored.

Across the chasm of misunderstanding, intolerance and ideological differences was flung the bridge of the People's Front, under whose banners all the anti-fascist forces of Spain united. And a miracle occurred: the reactionary forces were beaten, and the bloodthirsty buffoon who had tried to become a dictator suffered a crushing defeat.

Spain again became a republic. Catalonia was able to secure its rights and liberties; the Basques received hopes of the recognition of their national independence. The left forces won because they fought with closed ranks, in a united bloc.

This bloc had to be strengthened, consolidated.

Every Spanish democrat realized the necessity of preserving and strengthening the People's Front, the importance of which was clearly reflected in the elections of February 16. Unity meant victory over the enemy; disunity meant the defeat of democracy and liberty.

THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE

And later, in the sad days of the fascist insurrection, the unity of the people saved the Republic.

Republicans, socialists, communists and anarchists, inspired by a common, fraternal urge, united and joined forces to defend the Republic, the democratic liberties and integrity of Spain.

Stubborn and heroic resistance to the rebel offensive could be organized thanks to the unbreakable unity of our people, a unity cemented in blood and suffering. The government of the People's Front created and formed a strong army, organized,

disciplined and technically trained by devoted officers and commissars, who from the very first brought into the army, together with their heroism and fearlessness, the spirit and might of the People's Front. The union of the popular forces of Spain is the principal basis of victory.

This same policy of the People's Front enabled us to proceed to create a war industry, to purge the rear of enemies, to establish peace in the villages, to inspire the peasants with the confidence that the land would no longer belong to the old caciques or to the new rich, that it would belong to those who cultivate it, to those who render it fertile by their labour.

This whole path we have traversed united us in suffering, sacrifice and glory. We must continue our path still united, and achieve the complete destruction of fascism. And then we must preserve unity in order, on the ruins of old Spain, to lay the foundations of the new Spanish Republic.

If anyone, owing to weakness of memory or inconstancy of character, has forgotten why we were able, despite all our severe trials, to preserve the Spanish Republic, to overcome so many difficulties and to withstand the attacks of enemies from within and without, he should be reminded of this; if anyone thinks that the advancing and progressive course of history can be halted—as though the people could be fooled, as though the lives of the finest people of Spain were sacrificed for the benefit of some group, or some organization, or for the sake of some handful of people—we should calmly tell him that that is impossible.

THERE IS NO OTHER WAY THAN COMPLETE VICTORY

If in the minds of mediocre and cowardly people there should arise even the shadow of the idea of compromise or capitulation, all anti-fascist Spain would rise as one man and

reply in the passionate words of the Prime Minister, Senor Negrin, words inspired by faith in the people, that for Spain there is no other way than the complete triumph of the Republic, than a victorious peace, than the destruction of fascism.

We, and with us the masses of the Spanish people, all who really stand for our popular cause, know and realize that tomorrow, as today, there can be no other way of administering the country and of attaining victory than by the People's Front. Victory can be attained only by relying on the union of all the anti-fascist forces in Spain without exception.

IT WILL DEPEND ON US TO SHORTEN THE TERM OF THE STRUGGLE

The road which we have yet to cover is a long and painful one. Days of great sacrifices still lie before us. We shall still have to offer the greatest resistance to the enemy. We are certain that there is nobody that fails to understand what great efforts still have to be exerted and how many lives will still have to be sacrificed on the altar of the insatiable Moloch of War, that nobody in times like these will think of his own interests and his own desires.

Our struggle is a grim and severe one. But it will depend on us to hasten the hour of victory. A stop must be put to untimely heedlessness and to egoistic calculations. We must be mindful of the reality of the tragic times we are passing through, of the reality of the present situation.

The events of the day show clearly, distinctly and definitely that the war is about to enter a decisive phase. And we must be prepared for it.

Italy and Germany have not abandoned their plans of conquest.

Jarama, Guadalajara, Brunete, Belchite and Teruel have proved to the enemy that his infantry is inferior to ours and that given equal conditions our fighters will always win. That is why the fascists would like to deceive the world with talk of withdrawing volunteers, in other words, the cannon fodder our valiant fighters are devouring. But while talk of withdrawing volunteers is going on, nothing is said about the fact that aeroplanes, guns, tanks and machine-guns for the continuation of the war, for the devastation of Spain, for the enslavement of our people, are pouring in an unbroken stream through the Spanish ports seized by the rebels.

In face of the danger that is patent to all, we once more stress the necessity of intensifying the creation of reserves, accelerating the output of industry, especially of the munitions industry, enhancing the political education of our men, not, however, with the aid of bureaucratic commissars, but with the aid of commissars who have stood the test throughout all these painful months of struggle and who enjoy the confidence and love of our fighters.

We stress the necessity of stimulating the bravery and heroism of our airmen, our tankmen, our sailors and our artillerymen, by encouraging them and promoting them. This will tend to instil in them a spirit of emulation, which will bring days of glory and triumph.

It is our duty today to be more vigilant than ever with regard to the machinations of the enemy ; we must conduct a policy of relentlessly purging the rear ; we must overcome all obstacles that arise and consolidate anti-fascist unity by means of the People's Front.

Celebrating today the second anniversary of the victory of democratic Spain, united in the People's Front, over the forces which represent the past—oppression, slavery and tyranny—the

Communist Party sends its ardent salutations to the fighters who in the trenches, on sea, and in the air, are defending not only the integrity and independence of Spain, but the revolutionary gains of the masses, of the workers and peasants, of all workers by hand and brain, whose efforts are contributing to the victory over fascism.

Comrades and friends of Catalonia and of all Spain, Spaniards who in the camp of the rebels and of the forces of intervention are bearing the suffering and shame of fascist rule, do not lose courage, keep your heads erect !

Taking inspiration from the self-sacrificing heroism of our women, and remembering those who have fallen in the fight for liberty, we now exclaim with greater firmness than ever :

Long live our People's Army—the blacksmith of victory !

Long live the democratic Republic !

Long live the alliance of all the anti-fascist forces !

Long live the People's Front !

Frente Rojo, February 18, 1938

THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE

Abridged Report of a Speech Delivered at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party Held in Madrid May 23-25, 1938

COMRADES, members of the Central Committee ! Comrades of Madrid ! We decided that this Plenum—this historic business meeting of ours—should be held in Madrid, which has set such a brilliant and amazing example of heroic resistance. In those historic November days it was our Party which amidst the general atmosphere of irresolution and faintheartedness, raised the banner of the defence of Madrid. It told the people how serious the situation was, not concealing the danger from them in the least, and called upon them to organize resistance.

The efforts of our Party were not in vain. The people of Madrid honourably maintained their heroic traditions. They realized that the alarm raised by the communists was not a defeatist signal, not a call to abandon the ship in panic, but a warning issued in all calmness of the danger and of the necessity for defence. Madrid met the danger calmly : it mobilized all the abundant resources of our people, and Madrid withstood the attack.

We are now meeting at a far more serious moment than November 7, 1936. At that time the enemy was approaching the capital of the Republic ; today he has succeeded in isolating Catalonia from the rest of the Republic. But now, as then, we firmly declare to you, to the whole of Spain and to the whole world, that we shall win despite everything. . . .

Since our last Plenum, held last November, the situation has undergone a profound change, and unhappily not in our favour. The military reverses we have suffered in the past few months have rendered our situation so critical that we are obliged to declare, without exaggeration, that never has the threat to the liberty and independence of our country been so direct and serious as it is at present.

While so frankly admitting to you the seriousness of our situation, we are not giving way to exaggerated alarm ; we are just telling you the naked truth, drastic though it may be. We have always told the truth, and are telling it now, for we want everybody to realize it as we do and to face the danger with complete calm, and also if the danger should become even more acute, that nobody may lose hope in victory and give way to despair.

Everybody must clearly realize that our situation is worse now than ever before, not because of any lack of fighting determination on the part of our soldiers, or of any lack of enthusiasm on the part of our people, but because we have been obliged to withstand what has been the most serious offensive of the whole war.

Our people have been the object of a furious offensive, which, in addition to the attacks at the front, has been waged in diplomatic chancelleries and in the reactionary newspapers, which manufacture "international public opinion" by their lying campaigns. At the same time, we Spaniards have to admit with a blush of shame that a tendency to capitulate is again to be observed among certain sections of our people, a tendency which unfortunately has not been completely eradicated.

This triple offensive has been extremely dangerous, for it was directed not only against us : on this offensive, on the preparations for it and on its result depended the fate not

only of our country but of many other peoples of Europe as well.

DIPLOMATIC INTRIGUE

The united forces of fascism, supported by the most reactionary capitalist circles of the democratic countries, resolved to put an end to the liberty and independence of our country within the space of two or three weeks.

Since the seizure and strangulation of Austria, the bloodthirsty dictators of Germany and Italy have been displaying haste in Spain. The seizure and enslavement of Spain was the price Hitler promised to pay Mussolini for the occupation of Austria. It was to compensate Mussolini for the presence of German army corps on the Austro-Italian frontier, and for Germany's new expansion in Central Europe, the Danubian countries and the Balkans, the first objective of which is Czechoslovakia.

Hitler needed the military occupation by the fascist army of Catalonia and the Pyrenean frontier territory in order to tie the hands of the French people and the French army while his divisions were preparing to invade Czechoslovakia.

The chief objectives of the fascist offensive were to secure an outlet to the Mediterranean and the occupation or capitulation of Bercelona—the temporary seat of the government of the Republic and the capital of Catalonia. In order to achieve these objectives rapidly, the enemy has mobilized all his forces. The plan of the offensive was drawn up in Berlin and Rome, not without the participation of reactionary circles in London and Paris, whence proceeded all the threads of the plot to strangle our people.

The principal instruments of this plan were the foreign forces which have seized our territory. This was perfectly well

known all over Europe, and especially in London and Paris. What is more, the preparations for the offensive against our country were made not only with the knowledge, but even with the consent of the British government, which is controlled by the most reactionary elements of the Conservative Party. The British-Italian agreement was discussed and drawn up at the very time the preparations were being made for the Aragon offensive. It was signed on April 16, when the invaders had already reached Alcaniz and Caspe.

On this same day, according to a report in the *Humanite*, the organ of the French Communist Party, pressure was brought to bear on our government from Paris in order to get it to consent to what was called "mediation," but which was actually nothing more than a proposal to capitulate. And on this same day, too, Italian aircraft began to bombard Barcelona, the most savage bombardment of the whole war; it lasted three days and was designed by the fascists to sow panic and despair in the capital of the Republic and to compel our government to capitulate.

The plan of the British government was to place Spain under the power of Mussolini and thus to cause dissension between the two dictators. The conscience of our people revolts at this attempt to treat the independence of Spain as a counter in the bargainings and intrigues between foreign governments.

THE OFFENSIVE OF THE FORCES OF INTERVENTION

The general plan of the offensive against Spain also envisaged the offensive which commenced on March 9 on the Aragon and Catalan fronts. However, it was not this date which marked the actual beginning of the offensive. March 9 marked nothing more than a continuation of the attacks which had been begun by the enemy in January with the object of recovering Teruel.

The capture of Teruel by the Republican troops was a thunderstroke to the fascist General Staff. It resolved to recover Teruel and to use it as a base for future operations. After the first moments of dismay caused by the unexpected advance of our army, the fascists began a series of furious attacks and concentrated picked forces on Teruel, as a result of which we were obliged to retreat in face of the superior forces of the enemy and to abandon the city.

Scarcely a fortnight had elapsed since the capture of Teruel by the forces of intervention when they resumed the offensive. Franco himself has stated that the foreign troops at his disposal exceed 70,000 men, that is, on his own admission—a lying one, undoubtedly—over two army corps. To this must be added at least one army corps of Moroccans, the whole air force and the greater part of the artillery and special technical personnel, who play an immense role in modern warfare.

If this mass of troops is borne in mind, if it is borne in mind that certain sections of these troops, for example the air force, constituted the spearhead of the enemy's offensive, it may be asserted without fear of exaggeration that four-fifths of the technical resources flung into the offensive against the Republic were of foreign origin and were directed by foreigners; and it is therefore only natural that such a superiority of forces should have compelled our incomparably weaker forces from the technical standpoint to retreat, in spite of the amazing heroism and superhuman efforts of our men.

SUBVERSIVE AND DEFEATIST ACTIVITIES IN THE REAR

The enemy has been carrying on the offensive on another front too—within our own country. I refer not only to the subversive activities of the "fifth column," to the spies who have

wormed their way into high posts in our army, to the Trotskyite officers of the P. O. U. M. who had managed to penetrate into certain units, which as a result did not put up a proper resistance on the sectors where the enemy began the offensive and succeeded in breaking through the front. I refer chiefly to the defeatist campaigns, overt and covert, which preceded and accompanied the enemy's offensive. These campaigns originated abroad, but found a response among certain strata in our country. At some of the most serious moments these defeatist campaigns hampered the actions of the government and compelled it to waste time in discussing absurd recommendations to capitulate, in discussing whether the war could be won or not, at a time when energetic and urgent measures should have been taken to save the situation.

Our people long ago gave a determined and categorical answer to the question whether the war can be won or not. The war can be won, and we will win it. But an essential condition for this is that a complete stop be put to all attempts at compromise and capitulation, and that all inveterate grouchers and cowards, all who have no faith in the people and in the happy future of our country be dealt with resolutely. (*Applause*)

The offensive, started on so many different fronts, has enabled the enemy to reach the Mediterranean and temporarily to isolate Catalonia from the rest of Spain. The interruption of land communications between these two zones of Spain puts us in a very difficult situation, and this must be realized and examined with the utmost calmness.

It must first of all be clearly borne in mind that the enemy has already occupied a great deal of territory, that Spain is not so large as China or the Soviet Union, and that our situation is already such that any further loss of territory may create

an extremely dangerous situation, for the enemy's forces are approaching the vital centres of the country.

Secondly, attention must be drawn to the fact that if this zone is not yet suffering so acutely from the interruption of communications with Catalonia, it is partly due to the existence of stocks and other temporary circumstances, that may very soon change.

Thirdly, we must remember the example of the Basque country and the Asturias, where isolation from the rest of Spain gave rise to a very dangerous state of political chaos, accompanied by manifestations of a separatism, which contributed to the loss of these districts. We must be on our guard and put a complete end to this danger.

Bearing in mind this deplorable experience, we must relentlessly combat all tendencies to form small governments and defence committees in separate districts as being tantamount to an attempt to undermine the unity and weaken the fighting efficiency of our people. The authority of the only lawful government of the Republic must be maintained and strengthened by every possible means.

Optimism that is based upon a failure to understand the true state of affairs is not only false but dangerous, because it might easily be turned into panic and demoralization.

THE RESISTANCE OF THE ARMY OF THE PEOPLE IS THE DECISIVE FACTOR

The slogan, "Resist!" which was launched in the days when the enemy was advancing was taken up by all our fighters and the whole people. Our army put up a heroic resistance. Our people too resisted those who predicted or proposed capitulation. That is why, in spite of the big successes he has achieved, the enemy has been unable to carry out his plans in their entirety.

We are not the only ones to point to the admirable result of this resistance. They are also mentioned by the German General Staff. In its issue of May 5, the *Deutsche Wehr*, the organ of Hitler's General Staff, admits that our resistance has upset Franco's plans.

We find the foreign press daily referring with respect and admiration to the stubborn resistance our fighters are putting up to the foreign invaders.

The *Daily Telegraph*, a newspaper which cherishes no particular sympathy for our cause, speaks with astonishment of the vigorous counter-attacks of the government forces which halted General Franco's advance along the whole length of the cost towards Castellon. The French Right press, and even the Vatican organ, admit the valour of our fighters.

Even the newespapers of Mussolini, the moving spirit of the fascist offensive, have been obliged to admit that the resistance of our army is "tenacious and at times even desperate," and they are worried at the slowness with which the plans for the conquest of our country are progressing.

Our resistance has not only given the world fresh proof of the virility, fighting power, organization, heroism and self-confidence of the Spanish people, but has also given rise to a new international situation, the chief feature of which is that the organization of a front of counteraction to the fascist plans of conquest has begun. It has also given rise to a new situation within our country, the chief feature of which is that all the anti-fascist forces are uniting around the Government of National Unity.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The recent events in our country, combined with the tragic end of Austria, have served to arouse all the nations of Europe which want to be independent and free.

Comrade Litvinov has said that "peace is indivisible," that is, that those who capitulate to the aggressors and the fomenters of war, hoping to localize armed coflicts, will sooner or later find themselves drawn into a world-wide conflict and attacked by the aggressors whom they abetted.

To this thesis, on which the peace policy of the Soviet Union is based, it may be added that in present-day Europe the national independence of the peoples is also indivisible. The threat to the independence of Spain is a direct threat to the independence of Czechoslovakia, France, and even Great Britain herself.

The time has already passed when the peoples could be persuaded that capitulation to the fascist aggressors is a means of escaping war. Two years of the policy of "non-intervention" has made it perfectly clear that capitulation to the fascist aggressors only encourages them to launch into futher adventures.

We have not the slightest desire to drag other nations into war. No! We want peace, and we are fighting for peace! But events show that what has been done so far by the governments of the bourgeois-democratic countries, and especially by the British government, has only helped to hasten war and to make it almost inevitable. The international situation would not have been so acute today if the Spanish Republic had not been deprived of all assistance, if the forces of intervention had not been allowed to invade Spain, and if they had not been encouraged to seize Spain. But, fortunately, it is not yet too late. All that Spain asks is that her international rights be restored and that she be allowed as a free and sovereign state to purchase all she needs to resist the invaders, that foreign powers be prevented from seizing our territory and that they be compelled to respect international law—and then peace will be saved.

The labour movement in Great Britain has placed itself at the head of a widespread compaign of popular indignation, and has condemned the policy of the Chamberlain government.

"The Government," says the appeal of the Labour Party to the British people, "has outraged the conscience of the nation and has thus lost its support During the course of the last year Mussolini has not ceased to break the promises which he made to our country. Like Hitler, he has broken all his agreements The government capitulated before the insolence of the usurpers. . . . The presence of Italian troops in Spain constitutes a menace to the vital interests of Great Britain."

Contrary to the wishes of the most reactionary groups of the British bourgeoisie, there is reawakening today among the British people the spirit which in 1808 inspired some of Britain's finest sons to come and help us in our war of independence.

Today, as in those times, people with a clear conception of human freedom and human progress are on our side ; and democratic France, which is directly menaced by fascist aggression, is coming to see more clearly every day that her fate is bound up with ours, and she is therefore tending to adopt a more energetic policy towards fascism.

"Thus," wrote Comrade Dimitrov in his May-Day article, "two opposite processes of development of international events are taking place. Whereas the reactionary leading capitalist circles of bourgeois-democratic countries are inclining more and more toward a deal with the fascist aggressors and towards the conduct at home of a pro-fascist policy, *the forces of struggle against war and fascism are growing throughout the world.*"

There are people in our country who expect extraordinary events to occur which will suddenly change the whole European situation and put an end to intervention in our country. We

do not share these naive illusions, and warn against them. If an international war should break out while our war is still in progress, you may be quite sure, comrades of Madrid, that our war would assume far more cruel forms. If a European war should break out, the fascists who have invaded our country, in their efforts to ensure victory over our country and to gain mastery of the Mediterranean, would not hesitate to employ even more barbaric methods of destruction in order to enslave our people.

The fascist dictators retreat only when they encounter a superior force. But our resistance, our successes, by mobilizing the forces of peace and showing the way to all nations who have no desire to forfeit their liberty and independence, are helping to bring about a change in the international situation favourable to us.

A decisive factor is the U.S.S.R. and its consistent policy of peace, its firmness in face of the fascist aggressors at a time when the governments of the bourgeois-democratic countries steadily retreat.

It is just because of this persistent, firm, consistent and unselfish policy of the U.S.S.R. in defence of the peace and of the liberty of all nations menaced or attacked by fascist aggression that our people, all the people of Spain, feel profoundly and indissolubly attached to the people of the U.S.S.R. and its government.

That is why there has been deeply engraved on the minds not only of the communists but of all Spaniards who are fighting for the independence of our country the name of the genius who has created this policy, the glorious name of our great Stalin, who has declared to the world that "the liberation of Spain from the yoke of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind."

Our resistance has called forth profound changes within our country as well. It may be said that the formation of the second Negrin government, the Government of National Unity, signifies the creation of a new political situation.

The chief feature of this new situation is that the blow dealt by the people to the defeatists and capitulators and the extension and growing strength of all the forces of the people have created a state of affairs in which every problem connected with the organization of our resistance and our struggle in the military, economic and international spheres can be speedily solved. We can foresee with confidence, as a not too distant prospect, the transition from the period of resistance to a new period—a period of offensive action, when the forces of intervention will be dealt far more effective blows.

Our Party has made whatever sacrifices were required of it to facilitate the reorganization of the government into a Government of National Unity. This constitutes a categorical reply to those who, because of the participation of the communists in the government, have spread the absurd story abroad that our country is making for a dictatorship of the proletariat; and who have spread discord and dissension within the country by making out that the communists are the masters of the government and the state.

Comrades, the fact that we are taking part in the government testifies to our loyalty to the democratic republic and to the support we are extending in every way to its defence and the furtherance of its program. The Communist Party has never striven and never will strive for posts in the government as an end in itself.

We are fighting for the interests of the people, we are fighting for unity, we are fighting for victory in close alliance with the whole people and with all the anti-fascist forces. All

we ask of the Government of National Unity, in which we once more affirm our confidence, is energy and speed, that is, a true military tempo in carrying out the tasks which are the tasks of the whole Spanish people.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF OUR COUNTRY WILL BE SAFEGUARDED

We declare today, as we declared yesterday, to the population of Madrid, to the whole of Spain, and to the whole world, that the invaders will never succeed in accomplishing their criminal plan of enslaving our country, *that the independence of our country must and will be safeguarded at all costs.* This conviction is profoundly shared by all Spaniards who love their country, to whatever social group they may belong.

The chief thing required to safeguard the independence of Spain is that the masses of the people in our zone as well as in the part of Spain under the alien yoke should realize that the prime purpose of our war is to defend the liberty and independence of our country. The more widespread this conviction becomes, the more deeply it becomes impressed upon the mind of every anti-fascist, the broader, stronger firmer and surer will be the unity of the forces which are fighting the invaders, and the sooner will we achieve victory.

That, comrades of Madrid, is the meaning of the solemn statement of aims of the war made by the Republican government in the thirteen points which have now become so popular in Spain and abroad.

Some people are surprised that the Communist Party should accept this program with enthusiasm and put it forward as the basis on which the unity of the whole people is to be achieved. We reply to these people who are so anxious to detect a "contradiction" between the thirteen points and the principles

of our Party, that we ourselves are the best judges and defenders of our principles, and we recommend them to recall what has always been the position of the communists in this war.

It was our Party that was the first to describe this struggle as a war of independence. The first manifesto of the Central Committee of our Party, published in August, 1936 stated that "the war, which at first might have borne the character of a struggle between the military and reactionary castes of our country on the one hand, and those who desire to see Spain a democratic and progressive country on the other, very soon passed beyond this and become a war of independence. The whole nation must rise to prevent our country from being trampled beneath the bloodstained jackboot of the alien robbers."

This first manifesto of our Party was our war program. Never for a moment have we departed from it. Neither the demagogy nor the ultra-revolutionariness of some could induce us to forsake it. We were obliged to contend with miscomprehension, revolutionary infantileness, and with those who believed that a revolution means a mere change of scenery.

We have opposed unjust expropriation and compulsory collectivization ; but we have also fought to have the lands of the aristocrats, of the caciques and of all who have taken part in the revolt turned over to the poor peasants and agricultural workers so that they may cultivate them as they think fit and, with the help of the state, increase their productivity to the utmost.

We have fought, as you all well remember, that equalitarianism in wages which kills all stimulus among workers and engineers. But while we fought acute inequality, we respected knowledge, culture and technique, for they are the only means of spurring the progress of the people.

In face of unjust attacks we have affirmed that we are fighting in Spain for a democratic and parliamentary Republic.

THE PROGRAM OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Quite clearly, this was not understood by those who believed that the revolution can be made at one blow, without regard for the historical and political conditions of the country.

Spain, which has been isolated and left to her own fate by the governments of the bourgeois-democratic states, Spain, which stands alone against Germany and Italy, who are firmly resolved on war, alone, without the support of a Europe that has been terrorized by the aggressors, Spain, with her numerous political groupings of different trends, each of which has striven to impose its own ideology, and with her unfortunate heritage from her slavish and feudal past, such a Spain can make only a democratic revolution her aim.

The declaration of the government is the minimum program of the democratic revolution, on which we, and all the anti-fascist forces with us, have insisted ; it is a program of war and victory. But it does not mean that either we or others have abandoned our ideals for the future.

The most revolutionary thing now is to win the war, which in the international sphere means winning the first victory over fascism. If we lose the war, we shall not only lose the possibility of establishing a more progressive system in the future, but shall also lose all hope of our people living in freedom for a long time to come.

There are some who argue that the program of the thirteen points may help us to win the war but will lose us the revolution. That only evokes a smile, because we know the sort of "revolution" these people are dreaming of. What revolution may we lose ? The revolution of the new rich, of the speculators

who have given us so much trouble? The revolution of those who dream of not having to work any more? The revolution of those who dreamed that the technical directors of factories, doctors, skilled workers, teachers and military commanders would receive the same pays as all workers?

Yes, we must say that this "revolution" we shall lose, if anybody has the hardihood to call it a revolution. (*Laughter.*)

But on the other hand, the peasants all over Spain—note that, all over Spain, and not only in the part that now happens to be in our hands—will have the land which was turned over to them by the decree of the Ministry of Agriculture of October 7, 1936.

We shall safeguard and consolidate the economic gains of the workers, such as the 40-hour week and the right to control and share in the management of industry. The state will have control of the key industries that are essential to the life of the country. We shall have a People's Army at the service of the Republic and democracy, and not a caste army like the one that perished on July 18.

We shall have educational institutions and universities whose doors will be thrown wide open to the people; our women will be liberated from domestic slavery and seclusion and will become free citizens, with the opportunity to work on an equal footing with men in mills, factories, offices and laboratories, with equal rights and equal duties.

We shall open to Spain the horizons of peace, industry, freedom and progress.

There are some who whisper that the thirteen points constitute a program of retreat, because they proclaim respect for lawfully acquired property and for the property of foreigners, which they claim is an encroachment on the collective enterprises which now exist in a large part of our country. But these whispers forget that while in the rural districts many of

the collective farms were forcibly established, collectivization in industry was necessitated by the fact that the owners themselves had abandoned their factories, and because at that time there was no government strong enough to take over, organize and administer all the national property that had been abandoned.

The Spanish proletariat displayed an astonishing capacity for initiative and organization when it took over the factories and set them going. But experience has shown that co-operative undertakings which are badly managed and which give rise to particularist tendencies prevent the workers from perceiving what is to the general interest of their own class. The existing co-operatives are no basis either for a stable economic system or for a new structure of state. With the guidance of the state and under a democratic regime, the present situation be corrected and changed in many ways by the nationalization of a part of industry, the centralization and co-ordination of another part, and, if necessary, by the turning over of yet another part to private persons, especially the small and middle sized workshops and businesses.

A government like ours represents all the anti-fascist masses and the whole Spanish people, and it categorically declares that today the most relentless justice, wartime justice must be meted out to traitors, to those who divide and devastate our country and drench its soil with blood. (*Applause.*)

The thirteen points are the most concrete, broad and historically correct program that has ever been formulated by the alliance of the whole Spanish people.

These thirteen points constitute a program for the profound democratic revival of the political and social life of Spain, which is the program of the Republic, that is, of the social system and the government which were freely selected by the Spanish people

themselves. They are at the same time the program of our national independence.

For this reason the thirteen points are also the program of the working class, because our working class is sufficiently developed ideologically and politically to understand that it is fulfilling its progressive and revolutionary task today by placing itself at the head of all other sections of society in the struggle for the independence of the country. By this program the Spanish proletariat is opening for itself the road to broad social progress, the road to the future.

On the basis of these thirteen points all Spaniards living on Republican territory can and should unite—and not they alone. We know, and it is no secret to anyone, that in the occupied territories are living not only Republican masses—who form the overwhelming majority of the population and who are impatiently longing for their emancipation—but also honest Spaniards who in the early days of the struggle were deceived by the rebel generals but who are now beginning to realize the true state of affairs, and who clench their fists in despair when they see how their country is being pillaged and destroyed by the Italian and German barbarians.

To these oppressed and humiliated Spanish patriots who want to see Spain liberated from the alien invaders, we say :

"The Republic stretches out its hand to you and calls upon you to join the holy war against the enemies of our national independence."

Across the barriers of hatred and blood which treason has erected between the two Spains—between the Spain which looks towards the future and maintains the glorious traditions of our history, and the Spain which looks towards the past so as to revive all that is antiquated and decayed—we turn to those who are proud to be Spaniards, and say :

"Only the Spaniards are able and entitled to settle their internal disputes. And therefore the highest interest of all is a war to the death against the invaders.

"Oust the foreigners from our land"

WE ARE STRONG ENOUGH AND RICH ENOUGH TO WIN

I repeat, the situation is extremely grave. The independence of Spain is seriously menaced. But Spain has sufficient resources not only to halt the advance of the invaders but to repulse them and utterly rout them.

Let us survey the position of our country. The most densely populated districts, with the most developed industry and the most advanced agriculture, are in the hands of the Republic. Madrid, Catalonia and the Levant are in our hands.

The land of the Levant, which is agriculturally the most productive in Europe, can feed a considerable part of Spain. Catalonia is a powerful industrial base which supplied France with part of the war material she needed during the World War. We hold the big Mediterranean ports and a considerable part of the Pyrenean frontier, which secures for us freedom of communication and trade with the whole world.

The enemy controls some very rich districts of Spain, particularly the Basque country, the Asturias and a part of Andalusia. But the difference between the enemy and us is that in the zones dominated by the forces of intervention they are encountering tremendous difficulties in their attempts to mobilize the population to work for them. It is not an easy matter to make a people return to slave labour once they have known freedom.

Despite the presence of many thousands of German and Italian "engineers," chaos and economic confusion reign in the zone ruled by the rebels. What is going on there is systematic and insolent pillage by the invaders. Andalusian olive oil is

being dispatched to Italy and iron ore to Germany. The pyrites of Huelva have lost their chief markets, resulting in a sharp fall in the shares of the Rio Tinto mines, where the miners are forced to work under frightful conditions. Despite the terrorism, or rather on account of the terrorism, to which the workers in the occupied zone are systematically subjected, acts of sabotage are constantly occurring in the mines and factories of the North and on the railways, and are assuming new forms every day.

Whereas our government has been able to prove to the world, by publishing the balance sheet of the Bank of Spain, that the economic and financial position of the Republic is sound, the rebel generals have been living on the alms handed to them by their foreign masters and are condemning the people to hunger and want.

In spite of the numerous mistakes committed in the economic policy of the government, mistakes which we now unanimously admit and condemn, and in spite of the disorder and waste that existed, we are nevertheless strong enough and rich enough in men, gold, food and raw materials to create all the necessary conditions for our victory.

It must be admitted that neither the men in the government nor the people themselves and their various organizations have yet adequately recognized the necessity of bringing all the resources of the country rapidly into play.

The prime reason for this, and consequently for our military defeats, has been an underestimation of the strength of the enemy. The war we are waging was regarded as one of the numerous "little" civil wars or military actions which have drenched Spain with blood. Those who bore the greatest responsibility of all did not at once realize that only a few weeks after the outbreak of the rebellion of the traitorous

generals the war had grown into a war of independence, and that we were being attacked by two great fascist powers which had resolved to crush us in order to gain possession of our territory and to make it a base for a new European imperialist war.

Another thing that hampered the energetic mobilization of all the forces of the country was the fact that many leading posts were held by people who had no faith in victory, for they had no faith in the Spanish people, in their strength and their readiness for self-sacrifice and struggle.

A country that is fighting for its independence must not stint any means for the sake of victory. It must demand of everyone subordination to the interests of war. In this respect too much carelessness and irresponsibility have prevailed in Spain. We must learn from the history of peoples who have been able to preserve their independence by means of a heroic struggle.

We are well aware that in demanding the general mobilization of the resources of our country we are demanding privations and restrictions on freedom and personal liberty. But these will be nothing more than temporary privations and sacrifices which must be equally borne by all.

If we were to lose the war, and with it our liberty, our sufferings and sacrifices would be a thousand times greater. It is even difficult to foresee when they would end. Moreover, they would be accompanied by the greatest torment of all, the knowledge of being slaves of alien conquerors, slaves of the mortal enemies of progress and democracy.

The war has already been going on for nearly two years, and after two years of fighting and suffering, of privation and torment, it is understandable that there should be certain symptoms of fatigue, and that the people cannot be expected

to display the spontaneous urge we witnessed in the early months.

The decisive thing at the present stage of the war is organization, that is, the ability of the leading state bodies, the party organizations, the trade unions and all other anti-fascist organizations to solve practically and rapidly, at a much greater speed than hitherto, the vast number of specific problems connected with provisioning, the securing and transportation of raw materials, the uninterrupted functioning of the factories, the repair of machines, and so on and so forth.

The broader unity we have achieved must serve as a basis for the co-ordination of the work and efforts of all. This especially applies to the trade unions, which in this respect are still not acting with sufficient energy and resolution. But it applies most of all to our Party.

As far as concerns the practical mobilization of all the forces of the country for the war, we cannot regard the work of our Party as satisfactory. The Party is doing a great deal of agitational work, but at times it bears too general a character. Our press is not playing the part it should. Instead of dealing specifically with all the problems that interest the workers, peasants and soldiers—the military, political and economic organization of the country, and so on—our papers confine themselves to articles of a general and purely agitational character.

One gets the impression that our journalists believe that everyone is already convinced of the correctness of everything we say and propose. But that is not so, for every day new forces are joining the fight, to whom the objects and methods of our struggle have to be carefully explained, for there are people who have become weary, and, on the other hand, members of other political organizations do not always approach the solution of practical problems with our criteria.

These shortcomings are the result of the inadequate guidance of the press by the responsible organs of the Party. They reflect a definite tendency of the Party to withdraw into itself from a feeling of satisfaction with its own growth and a sense of pride born of the knowledge of its own strength ; for there are some who forget that the real strength of the Communist Party lies in its constant contact with the masses of non-party people and members of other parties, which enable it to know what problems interest them and what their needs are and to co-operate with them in the solution of these problems. There is too much talk, and too little effective work being done in the factories, in the trade union organizations, in the homes of people, in district organizations, and even in the army itself. Comrades should not understand this criticism of our Party to mean that we underrate or disparage the role we are playing in the existing situation.

Three hundred thousand communists, that is three hundred thousand conscious, disciplined and active workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals, can and should be a decisive factor in solving the problems of the war, if they understand their tasks and work to accomplish them, without deviating one iota from the policy of unity and the People's Front.

INCREASE THE FIGHTING STRENGTH OF OUR ARMY

The chief and fundamental concern of all those who will never consent to see our country subjugated to an alien yoke must be *our army*.

We, who know our army well, are not the least surprised or astonished at the stubborn resistance and staunchness it is displaying.

The people who are now defending Catalonia and the Levant, who will lay down their lives rather than surrender a foot of

our land, and who pass with enthusiasm to the counter-attack two or three times in succession against an enemy vastly superior in numbers and arms, are the same people who fought at Guadalajara, Brunete, Belchite and Teruel.

And if these people have been obliged to retreat and to surrender part of our territory to the enemy, it is not they who are to blame, but the mistaken military policy which resulted in weakening the army.

The Central Committee of our Party repeatedly raised its voice against this mistaken policy and did its utmost to correct it.

The successful resistance of our army today is to a large extent due to the energetic action of the Government of National Unity, which has begun to correct the mistaken policy of the past and has given a new tempo and a new direction to our military policy.

The government has called up new age categories. We note this with satisfaction, for we are deeply convinced that without a general mobilization the war cannot be won and the independence of Spain cannot be safeguarded. This conviction is based on a careful study of the military situation, the experience of twenty-two months of war, and the historical experience of other countries and other wars.

It was inevitable in a war like, ours, when the majority of the officers went over to the side of the forces of intervention, that the government and the people should encounter great difficulties in organizing their armed forces. It was equally inevitable that for a certain period our forces should be technically inferior to those of the enemy. But what was not understood in good time was that we could partially compensate for our technical inferiority with the help of numbers, and that it was a mistake, as it still is, to oppose the enemy with

numerically equal or even inferior forces. Heroism alone is not enough to compensate for the superiority of the enemy resulting from better equipment, a greater quantity of arms and the required technical resources to utilize them.

The problem of reserves—our military experts know this better than we do—has always been the most serious problem of our army. It again acted as the decisive factor in the second phase of the Teruel operations, in Aragon and the Levant. Lack of reserves made it impossible to check the advance of the enemy by big counter-offensives, and this upset all our operative plans. General mobilization with the object of creating large reserves should therefore be greeted with enthusiasm, and we should all strive to have this mobilization of all men able to bear arms carried out with the utmost rapidity.

Our superiority over the enemy lies precisely in the fact that we are always able to tell and explain to the people what we are fighting for and why the greatest sacrifices are necessary and essential, whereas the enemy is always bound to meet with the resistance of the people.

It is clear that the creation of large reserves must not lead to any relaxation of effort in the way of constantly improving and perfecting the army. Efforts in this direction must be increased to the utmost.

General mobilization and the creation of large reserves are not enough to solve the whole problem. This measure will be inadequate if it is not accompanied by a policy of intensive and systematic erection of fortifications.

Good fortifications are essential if our power of resistance is to be intensified to the utmost. The experience of the last offensive on the Aragon front has been very instructive in this respect. The erection of fortifications was entirely suspended on that front, with the result that in some sectors all we possessed

was one line of trenches and a very weak one at that. That was one of the deciding factors, and it explains why the enemy there met with such weak resistance.

When our soldiers have reliable dug-outs to protect them from artillery and aircraft, when they have good trenches, fortified with stone and concrete, they are able by their bravery to inflict crushing defeat on the enemy, no matter what means he has at his disposal.

All these are elementary truths that should have been known to everybody. Yet there are still commanders and commissars, men who have been at the front since July 19, 1936, who still hold the strange, absolutely erroneous and harmful theory that fortifications demoralize the military commanders. Or else another, no less strange and incorrect theory is advanced to the effect that fortifications are of no use because you cannot fortify every sector, and the enemy always attacks on the sectors which are not fortified.

The order of the government providing for the mobilization of men for the new fortification battalions is a big step in this direction. And this measure will be far more effective if it meets with the energetic and determined support of the commanders and commissars at the front.

DEFECTS OF OUR ARMY AND HOW TO REMOVE THEM

I now come to the question of the technical and military efficiency of our army. I think it would be a mistake not to admit that many defects were revealed during the operations around Teruel and in Aragon and the Levant. On the elimination of these mistakes the attention of the government is now being concentrated, as should be the attention of all anti-fascists in Spain.

There is no need to repeat that these defects are partly due to the very structure of our People's Army, to the fact that the

necessity of forming a regular army was realized so very late and to the haste with which it was formed. But they are also due to the mistakes in political policy of former governments of the Republic. One consequence of these mistakes has been a considerable delay in developing the technical qualities of our army.

The lack of unity in our army is a consequence, a survival of the unfavourable sides of the system of party and trade union militia squads from which our army sprang. However, the survivals of the militia system would have been altogether eliminated if the political struggle between the various groups had not been carried over into the army, to the detriment of its unity and strength.

Every party, every trade union and every organization wanted to have "its" commanders, "its" commissars, "its" units, and so on. If this is to be the case there cannot be complete unity in the army; and an army without unity cannot have discipline, and without discipline there cannot be a strong army. Unfortunately, in the past these tendencies were encouraged by official bodies, by people who were unable to rid themselves of the political habits of old, semi-feudal Spain, and who assumed that in order to rule they must cause division, incite one party or organization against another, cause dissension among them, so that they might more easily pursue their own private and party plans. . . .

Everything for unity and unity above everything! This slogan is not only of political importance for our army, but also points the practical way to eliminate the fundamental weaknesses of our army.

Another problem we want to raise here very energetically is the problem of discipline. Painful as it is to admit it, there are still many commanders, commissars and men who do just what they like, who criticize the orders they receive or find

pretexts for not obeying them, and who place their private wishes or the particular interests of their unit or organization above the instructions of the command and the government. This causes disorder and confusion and undermines fighting spirit and fighting efficiency. It increases the sacrifices that have to be borne by the whole body of the army.

Discipline in the army must be complete, strict, absolute and compulsory for all. We therefore demand that the Government of National Unity unhesitatingly continue the resolute policy it has initiated of punishing the guilty and rewarding and promoting those who distinguish themselves.

Let all military commanders know that the judgment of the people is inexorable, and that although a military tribunal may sometimes acquit guilty persons owing to insufficient evidence, the people will never forgive and never forget their guilt. (*Applause.*)

Iron discipline signifies at the same time a consistent policy of purging the commanding staffs. We are filled with indignation at the thought that after twenty months of fighting and experience we have suffered reverses and have lost important positions owing to the toleration shown the Trotskyites of the P.O.U.M., the uncontrolled elements, the traitors.

If we want a speedy victory we must help the government to solve the problem of improving the military and technical qualities of our army.

That was why our Party was obliged in the interest of the whole people to raise its voice in vigorous protest when it saw that the Ministry of National Defence and especially the General Military Commissariat were acting against the unity of the army.

This policy of destroying the unity of the army was in the past one of the chief reasons for the defeats we suffered, because

it demoralized and disorganized whole army units ; because it allowed other units to adhere to the old rate of development and progress in military preparedness, which was regarded as the private affair of each political party ; because it prevented the adoption of the necessary measures of punishment and reorganization when a particular unit was guilty of dereliction of military duty ; and because it permitted traitors from the P.O.U.M., whose program it is to open the front to the enemy, as happened in several parts of the Aragon front, to worm their way into certain other units.

The fight for the unity of the army must be waged under the direction of the Government of National Unity from top to bottom and without the slightest hesitation. All attempts or tendencies to revert to the system of party militia squads must be resolutely nipped in the bud.

The achievement of complete unity in our army should have and is bound to have a tremendous influence in enhancing its fighting efficiency, for it will help to eliminate certain causes which often prevent co-ordinated action between the various units.

POLITICAL WORK AND EDUCATION

We must not forget that what helped us to strengthen and consolidate our army was the political work we carried on within it, and that unless this work is greatly intensified we shall be unable to solve a single one of the problems that now confront us. The formation of the Government of National Unity put an end to the misunderstanding, mistakes, wrong policies and even open acts of sabotage which hindered the development of political work in the army. The military Commissariat is now returning to the performance of its glorious task, in which all parties, all trade unions and all anti-fascists of Spain should co-operate.

In order that the Military Commissariat may more thoroughly perform its duty to the Republic, it is first of all essential that every commissar have a greater sense of responsibility, that he clearly realize that he shares the blame with the military command for all the defects, shortcomings and reverses of his unit. The military commander always has the deciding voice. The commissar, as his closest co-worker, must help him in his work, assist him and never remain indifferent at the sight of shortcomings and defects.

The prime task of the commissars now is to work for unity and discipline, energetically to assist in raising the technical level of the army, to show constant solicitude for people, to maintain close contact with their men, to know all their needs and to help in getting them satisfied, so that every symptom of fatigue and demoralization may be removed and eliminated.

NEED OF A POWERFUL MUNITIONS INDUSTRY

The principal thing is that we should all henceforth devote far greater attention to the economic situation of the country, the difficulties encountered in this sphere, and the way to overcome them.

The resistance put up by our army is compelling the enemy to seek new methods of disintegrating our troops and demoralizing our rear.

Since the victories they have gained on our fronts have not broken our spirit, they will naturally endeavour to attack us on those sectors which in their opinion are the most vulnerable, and will resort to this new method of warfare in the economic sphere—by enclosing our territory in an iron ring of hunger, disorganization and chaos.

It is the duty of all the anti-fascists of Spain, and of the trade unions in the first place, to organize, under the direction

of the government and in aid of the state bodies, a fight against all attempts to damage our economic life, against all attempts to cause economic chaos and thus give rise to hunger in the rear and to difficulties in supplying our army with arms and munitions,

However, things sometimes occur which can only be due to deliberate wrecking, for wreckers often make their way into the state apparatus under the guise of experts.

In this respect the trade unions can be of tremendous assistance to the government by acting as real controlling bodies—provided of course that their activities are guided not by group interests but by the one common desire to vanquish disorder, to remove difficulties and to accomplish the tasks set by the government as rapidly as possible.

If it is properly explained to the workers whom they are now working for, our proletariat and our peasants will exert themselves to the utmost, and our whole productive apparatus will be able to increase its output.

As to the munitions industry, a complete stop must be put to the injurious system of equalitarianism in wages. In spite of the decisions on this subject of the General Workers' Union and the National Confederation of Labour, and in spite of the campaign in the press, this system still prevails in many factories, which explains the low productivity of labour and the relatively slow development of the munitions industry.

Everybody is talking about enlisting women in industry and and everybody is adopting resolutions to this effect. But as a matter of fact opposition to the enlistment of women in industry is being offered by the executive committees of certain trade unions and even by some of the workers.

It is the duty of every communist to work incessantly for the enlistment of women in industry with the object of bringing the war to a victorious end.

Another important question is the provisioning of the workers in the munitions factories. All government bodies and all trade unions should make it a rule that munitions workers should be better fed, that, except for the army, they shoud be the best supplied section of the population. We call upon our comrades to do their utmost to secure the observance of this rule. (*Approval*).

Lastly, I want to draw the attention of the comrades to the extreme weakness of the work carried on by the Party in the munitions factories. The regional committees of the Party should feel that they share responsibility for the work of the munitions industry and should take every measure to remove the causes which interfere with the proper operation of the factories and draw the attention of the proper authorities, of the technical chiefs, of the trade unions and of the other parties of the People's Front to all defects with a view to removing them and ensuring the steady growth of output.

NATIONAL UNITY FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF OUR INDEPENDENCE

The resistance offered by our people and the victories they have won are all the results of unity. The fascists were defeated in Madrid on February 16, July 18 and November 7 because the people acted unitedly.

But never has the unity of the anti-fascist forces been as essential as it is today.

If we want to know what sort of unity we need now, we must once more examine the situation we are in and the causes that gave rise to it, and realize what a tremendous amount of work has to be done if we are to escape from this situation.

Our country has been invaded by enemies, our territory has been torn in two, yet there are places in Spain where the

seriousness of the situation is not yet realized, where the tasks set by the government are being carried out with unpardonable slowness and delay, and at times badly.

Never has our national independence been in greater danger, and although we all are talking about unity, there are still people so utterly irresponsible as to take advantage of the difficulties of the situation in order to provoke national enmity or discord between various regions, and to cause an atmosphere of distrust among the various parties and organizations.

A stop must be put to all this.

The unity we now need is *a new unity, a broader, more stable, more effectual and effective unity than has existed hitherto. It must be a national unity*, that is, a unity of all anti-fascists based upon a common program and centring around the government. It should enable us to muster and organize new sections of the population and to launch them into battle against the invaders.

When we say this we have chiefly in mind the unity of all the peoples of the Republic, and especially the unity of Catalonia with the rest of Spain.

This was always a matter of prime importance to the struggle for independence of our people. Today, when the lines of communication between Catalonia and the rest of Spain have been cut, the alliance between Catalonia and the rest of Spain must be stronger than ever.

The fate of Spain involves the fate of all her peoples. Catalonia cannot be free in an enslaved Spain. Only an independent Spain can guarantee the freedom and the autonomous rights of Catalonia and the rest of the peoples under a democratic system.

The Spanish Cammunist Party has always defended the liberty of all the peoples of Spain—Catalans, Basques and

Galicians—and their right to control their own destinies. The position of our Party has not changed. If anybody dared to encroach on the liberty of Catalonia he would meet with the most vigorous resistance from us.

The fascists and alien invaders who have strangled the country of the Basques, who are subjecting Galicia to a brutal yoke, who have seized a part of Catalonia and who want to destroy her as a free country, would like to destroy the national independence of the whole of Spain.

The workers, peasants and intellectuals, all the patriots of Catalonia are fully aware that if this independence is lost, Catalonia too will cease to exist as a free nation.

All Catalonia knows that the part of the People's Army that is now on Catalan soil has nothing in common with the old caste army of the semi-feudal monarchy, that it is an army of the people which has come at the order of the government of the Republic to check the advance of the enemy on Barcelona, to defend at the same time the liberty of Catalonia and the independence of Spain.

It is one of the slogans of Italian fascism to separate Catalonia from the rest of Spain ; it is one of Mussolini's aims, which he wants to achieve both with his own forces of intervention and with the aid of his Spanish agents—the provocateurs and Trotskyites.

The issue is now clear-cut. All compromise is out of the question. The enemy wants to destroy our liberty, our independence, our very existence. We must destroy the enemy—that is the only alternative.

The conclusion of the pact between the General Workers' Union and the National Confederation of Labour on the basis of a positive program of action is one of the greatest achievements of unity. This pact opens up new prospects and inspires

us with the hope that very shortly the creation of a single and united trade union centre in our country will become a practical issue.

The task today is to see that this pact is grounded on unity of action, without any attempt being made to set the trade unions up against the political parties and the *People's Front*, and that the trade unions get the factories to work better and the needs of the workers better satisfied in regard to working conditions and wages.

I want to appeal particularly and directly to the members of our Party and to our comrades the socialists, with whom we are bound by strong ties of ideological and political kinship. Our Party has repeatedly declared, and it was declared in particular by Comrade Diaz at the November Plenum of our Central Committee, that "the backbone of the policy of our Party is its relations with the Socialist Party."

This was not a mere formal declaration, but a clear political line, the line which has determined our entire conduct. We communists are convinced that the least split within the ranks of anti-fascist parties and organizations will cause difficulties in the realization of unity between them and the other organization.

The Communist Party has never desired schism and differences of trend within the ranks of the Socialist Party. On the contrary, we want the Socialist Party to be united, because we must in conjunction with our socialist comrades form a united party, and we know that if the Socialist Party should be split this object could not be attained.

There have been certain misunderstandings and mistakes which have hindered close co-operation between communists and socialists. We must all of us strive to remove them, to facilitate the achievement of unity between the various parties

and to secure the intensification and expansion of the activities of the Contact Committees with the object of clearing the way for a united party of the proletariat. The meaning of these words should be properly understood by all communists so that it may help them to get rid of any survivals of sectarianism that may still exist among them.

THE TROTSKYITES ARE THE ENEMIES OF OUR PEOPLE

The enemies we are fighting are the fascists, the alien invaders of our country, and those criminals, the Trotskyites. The latter are sworn enemies of unity, and we must relentlessly expose them in the eyes of the people.

Comrade Stalin has said that "Trotskyism has ceased to be a political current among the working class and has become a naked and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and assassins, acting on the orders of intelligence services of foreign states." The Spanish people have had the opportunity to convince themselves that Comrade Stalin was absolutely right. They have been taught by a number of facts and by their own bitter and painful experience that the Trotskyite gang are sworn enemies not only of our Party but of all anti-fascists and all Spaniards.

The Trotskyite provocateurs are working for the dismemberment of our country, just as they worked for the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R. They did their utmost to prevent Catalonia with all her vast resources from wholeheartedly joining the war. That was their object in putting forward the criminal slogan of an "independent Catalan army." They systematically provoked discord among the anti-fascist forces, and they organized the counter-revolutionary putsch of May 1937 in order to plunge a knife into the back of the heroic defenders of the Basque country when the enemy launched his furious offensive

against it. On the Eastern Front they fraternized with officers of the fascist army with a view to disintegrating our ranks and undermining the fighting efficiency of our army. They have had a hand in the direction of most of the fascist espionage organizations that have so far been detected by the organs of the Republic. They have managed to lead astray a part of the workers, for example, in Gerona, and to provoke strikes, whereby the inhabitants were left without air-raid shelters.

After the 29th Division, which proved to be infested with Trotskyites, was disbanded by the Republican Government, these dregs of human society managed to make their way into other units on the Eastern Front. It was on this sector that the enemy was able, owing to the Trotskyite spies, to concentrate his forces and break through our front. Several days ago the Trotskyite agents attempted to organize seditious activities on the Madrid front, to lay bare a certain sector and to open the gates of Madrid to the fascist invaders.

No mercy, no indulgence can be shown this gang of criminals. If the complete unity of our people is to be ensured they must be utterly destroyed. (*Applause.*)

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COMMUNISTS

On every occasion in the course of the war our Party, when discussing the existing situation and trying to find a way of overcoming the difficulties, turns to the whole people, since it wants everybody to understand and know what has to be done.

But on this occasion I want in concluding my speech to address myself especially to our Party in order to bring home to every communist the tremendous responsibility that lies upon us at the present moment.

In the past we strove in conjunction with a section of the Socialist Party for united action between the various parties,

and when we achieved such unity we were to inflict the first blow on fascism.

We strove in conjunction with the Republicans for the creation of the People's Front, which became a barrier that frustrated the attempt to set up a fascist dictatorship in Spain.

We must now be the inspirers, the organizers and the staunchest champions of national unity, which will save the independence of Spain.

To the communists, working for national unity, for an alliance of all Spaniards, means extending and strengthening our contact with the masses and breaking down the obstacles we sometimes encounter which separate us from the people, from the workers and peasants, organized and unorganized, from those who belong to other parties and those belonging to no party.

Our party must display the utmost activity and set an example to all other anti-fascists in the effort to get the idea of national unity to penetrate to the zone seized by the fascists.

We are communists, and it is our duty to observe an iron and conscious discipline in carrying out the line of the Party and the orders of the government, which the Party supports unreservedly. Party discipline means that the directions of the Central Committee must be strictly obeyed by all the organizations and members of the Party in accordance with local conditions.

Only in this way will the hundreds of thousands of communists who are fighting and working at the fronts, in the factories and in the rural districts, and who have united with the whole people in one gigantic effort, become the decisive force in the severe struggle we are waging to save the independence of our country.

All the sacrifices and privations we will have to bear in order to safeguard the independence of our country will be as nothing compared with the gloom and torments of the life that would follow the victory of the invaders of our country. We therefore repeat, and put every ounce of conviction we possess into our words :

Everybody and everything must be mustered for victory !

Comrades of the Central Committee, comrades of Madrid !

Long live the banner of our democratic Republic, beneath which all the sons and all the peoples of Spain are fighting !

Long live the indestructible alliance of all Spaniards who want to see Spain independent, free and happy !

Oust the invaders from our native soil ! (*Loud applause and cheers. The audience rises and sings the "International."*

SPAIN WILL NEVER BE FASCIST

Speech delivered at the Winter Velodrome, Paris, July 26, 1938

THERE are moments in life when words will not mount to the lips because the heart is overflowing. Forgive me for my display of emotion at the affectionate gesture of the Chinese delegation. They are our brothers, the youth of China, who are fighting the Japanese invader for the independence of their country and who want to join forces with Spain in the struggle for peace and liberty. (*Applause.*)

Comrades and friends of free and democratic France, I bring to you the salutations of heroic Spain, which despite her severe trials, despite her sufferings, despite the furious attacks of the invading armies, has been able to muster within herself, in the heroism of her soldiers, in the spirit of sacrifice of her workers, and in the self-renunciation of her women—who, in addition, experience a love for liberty and for the independence of their country—sufficient energy to fight and to courageously repulse the most savage attacks of the German and Italian troops.

The purpose of this magnificent meeting, which is representative of the desire of the French people to come to the aid of Republican Spain, is to review the significance of the Universal Peace Rally which concluded its labours only a few hours ago. To us, who come from Spain and whose eyes and hearts are filled with visions and memories of blood and suffering, it is like an oasis of peace, because we see here the faces of friends, and hands stretched out towards us in a gesture of fraternal solidarity.

And we have come here to tell you that at the end of two years of war, of severe fighting, of terrible battles, two years in which our people, alone, abandoned by the governments of the democracies and at grips with the superior armaments of the enemy, have been obliged to cede territory step by step—we have come here to tell you that Spain lives, that her pulse beats high, that Spain is ready for every sacrifice, to die if need be, but that she will never, do you understand, never, consent to live under the infamous yoke of fascist slavery ! (*Loud cheers.*)

When two years ago we explained to all the nations, across all the frontiers, the meaning of our struggle, we were certain that in the end the truth would come into its own and that the justice of the cause defended by the Spanish Republic would be recognized.

The Universal Peace Rally, which was attended by man and women of various classes of society, of all tendencies, ideologies, religions and nations of the world, was convened to study the practical way of assisting the nations which are engaged in a struggle with fascism, like Spain and China, and also other countries that are menaced by this scourge. This conference in itself was a proclamation of the universality of our cause.

But for the sake of those who may not be sufficiently convinced, and in case it may be necessary to remove certain ambiguities, I want to explain here once again, to you and to the whole world, why we are fighting, why in Spain our finest men, the flower of our youth, are falling beneath the flail of death. . .

The attempt has been made, with the object of denying us all aid, to describe our war as a civil war, as a war on communism. This pretext was invented by our enemies, and many of our friends have failed to detect the manoeuvre. I maintain here very categorically that it is not a war on communism, that it is

not a war in defence of a definite political ideology, but a war of invasion, a war of conquest. It is a war by which German and Italian fascism is trying to secure positions for itself, to seize the wealth of Spain, which it needs for the development and realization of its future plans of conquest in Europe. (*Cheers.*)

THE PEOPLE WON AGAINST THE TRAITORS

Our war was started by the revolt of a group of generals who betrayed their country and acted as the miserable tools of those whose ambition it is to seize our beautiful country. But as long as the struggle was between the military and the people, who sided with the lawful government, it was the Republic that was victorious.

The revolt in Madrid was suppressed ; General Mola's march on the capital of the Republic was checked by the Republican militia on the slopes of Sierra Guadarrama. In Catalonia, the entire people rose up in arms on the side of the President of the Generalidad and the rebellion was suppressed at its inception ; the principal leaders of the rising were arrested and immediately tried by court martial.

FOREIGN INTERVENTION

The same thing also occurred in the Asturias, in the barracks of Simancas, in the heroic battle for the Loyola barracks in San Sebastian, in Malaga, Almeria, Bilbao and in many other cities of Spain. Everywhere in those early days the Republican militia dealt severe blows at the military rebels. (*Applause.*) When did the Republic begin to suffer reverses ? When the foreign forces were brought into action. When there began to arrive in the Peninsula from Africa Moroccan barbarians, thirsting for blood and pleasure, who had been promised as war

booty the women of the towns and villages they conquered ; when Germany and Italy shamelessly intervened by sending to Spain not mercenary volunteers but regular army units, supplied with powerful and abundant munitions of war ; when German and Italian warships, some openly and others disguised, bombarded our coastal towns and ports ; when the Non-Intervention Committee closed our frontiers in order to prevent the Republican government from purchasing abroad the arms it needed for its defence.

And whereas the enemy possessed hundreds of aeroplanes, we had no air force whatever. Whereas we had no cannon or machine guns, the enemy poured showers of shot and shell into our trenches. (*Chorus of cries :* "*Open the frontiers !*")

THE PEOPLE ARE PRODUCING HEROES

And under these conditions of inferiority the Spanish Republic has gradually created a munitions industry, it has caused to arise from the people an army of heroes, the People's Army, which having traced the glorious pages of the defence of Madrid, the battles of Jarama, the rout of the Italians in the Guadalajara and the capture of Belchite and Teruel, is now astonishing the world by the valiant resistance it is putting up against the Italian troops in the trenches of the Levant.

Comrade Stalin, the glorious leader of the proletariat of the world, declared with magnificent foresight at the beginning of the war that "the cause of Spain is . . . the cause of all advanced and progressive mankind." (*Loud applause. Cries of "Long live Stalin !"*)

And that is true, for it is in Spain that are being fought the first battles between democracy and fascism, which wants to grasp the whole world in its powerful tentacles in order to stifle

liberty and progress. Our people have accepted with pride and a full sense of their responsibility this tremendous task that history has assigned to them.

But they demand, bacause it is their right, that they be not abandoned to their own resources, for they are ready to sacrifice everything to defend democracy and the peace and liberty of all peoples.

FASCISM IS BRAVE WHEN THE DEMOCRACIES ARE COWARDLY

It is said that war must be localized, but we say that war can be localized and checked not by timidly giving way to those who have fomented it, but by crushing them whithout pity. The bravery of fascism is in exact proportion to the cowardice of the democracies. (*Loud applause.*)

It is a shameful thing to see a people that is fighting and is ready to die for the cause of all being left in the lurch. The unhappy Abyssinian people were shamelessly abandoned without the governments which call themselves democratic doing anything to prevent it. And the fascists smiled with satisfaction. . . Drowsing beneath the laurels of this easy victory, they dreamed . . . of the pyrites of Huelva, the mercury of Almaden, the iron mines of the Basque country and the oil of Andalusia ; they dreamed of our ports strategically situated on the shores of the Mediterranean which they needed for their future plans of war.

A new offensive began : across ancient and heroic China the jackboots of the Japanese invaders traced paths of blood ; Austria disappeared as an independent nation ; and the dark clouds of the fascist menace are lowering over Czechoslovakia.

On the soil of Spain heaps of ruins and ashes mark the route of the invader ; he is opposed by the heroic efforts of

our army, which is performing veritable miracles in face of the weapons of warfare possessed by the enemy. (*Loud applause.*)

And it is owing to this cowardice, this indifference of the democratic countries that fascism has been able to seize the positions which it holds today and which lead it to believe that it will soon completely achieve its criminal plans of world domination.

THERE IS STILL TIME

But there is still time to prevent the war from spreading. And that is why we tell you once more that we are prepared to resist and to maintain the struggle until fascism is crushed, until victory is ours, until we have ousted the invaders from Spain. (*Cheers.*)

Spain does not want to be and never will be fascist. One of the proofs of the will of our people is the fact that every time the enemy seizes new villages the inhabitants flee in a terrible exodus, fired on by machine guns and from aeroplanes, seeking an asylum in towns and villages that are still free of invaders.

What a wounderful example is set by these Spaniards who prefer to abandon everything, their homes and beloved villages, rather than live beneath the brutal heel of the fascist invader.

But this fact, while it fills us with pride, causes our government and our people enormous difficulties. There are over two million refugees for whom we had to find shelter on loyal territory. Our government has to feed them and attend to all their needs. The result is that we are faced with a tremendous over-population in Republican Spain.

We are in need of many things. Our people are hungry. We are not ashamed to say so, because their hunger is due to the infamous blockade which, to the shame of the civilized world,

has been imposed upon our people, and because we know that all nations that have been at war have undergone numerous privations, have undergone sufferings similar to those we are undergoing today.

For two years now we have been inflicted with one of the most cruel wars known to history, for we are fighting not so much the Spanish rebels as the foreign fascist invaders. The situation of the refugees is a terrible one. Our children are suffering tremendous privations. We cannot give them the food they need, and that causes us intolerable mental suffering.

But we are certain that you, our brothers of France, will be able to help us, will be able to prevent the enemy, who cannot and never will vanquish us by arms, from vanquishing us by starvation. You will see to it that our workers, our children, our women and our soldiers receive the food they need in order to be able to continue their resistance.

You can do it and you will do it. (*Applause.*)

Even if your government, forgetting that we are fighting for peace, have abandoned us, you cannot forget it. We know that the policy of certain governments is not the policy that the masses in their countries want.

But if this policy, which is so barbaric, so inhuman, so inimical to the interests of the masses of the people, is to be changed, the peoples must be united, they must be able by the force of their unity to impose the policy they desire, the policy of peace, of defense of the conquests of democracy, which were won after so many years of struggle and terrible sacrifice on the part of the masses of all countries.

THE FORCES OF PEACE EXCEED THE FORCES OF WAR

The forces of peace in the world are much more powerful than the forces of war, but, as our great comrade Dimitrov has

said, they must be organized, they must all find the common bond that will enable them to face the threats and the policy of the *fait accompli* practiced by fascism. (*Cheers and applause. Cries of "Long live unity !"*)

Spain may serve as an example for all peoples. We have been able to resist so far, and shall resist as long as is necessary, because communists, anarchists, socialists, republicans, our entire people, are united around the government and under the banner of the Republic for the defence of the independence of Spain and of the democratic revolution, whose program has been set before the world in President Negrin's thirteen points.

WHAT WE OWE TO UNITY AND WHAT WE EXPECT FROM IT

That is why, comrades of France, you must preserve the unity you have achieved and must strive to extend it and consolidate it. Without unity our people would have been unable to resist during this painful period of two years of war, nor would they have been able to create the conditions for the victory which sooner or later will be the result of our struggle.

To obtain these results it is essential to wage an energetic fight against the enemies, open or disguised, who are scheming to destroy unity.

Those who combat unity are always in the final count agents of the enemy. (*Prolonged cheers.*)

THE FIFTH COLUMN IN SPAIN AND FRANCE

For you must not think, comrades and friends of France, that our enemies are to be found only on the battlefronts. We have enemies, no less dangerous, behind the lines. There are the Trotskyites, who, by resorting to verbal demagogy, seek to sow confusion among the workers and demoralization in our ranks. They are the criminals of the P.O.U.M., who pretend

that their cries of rage, now that they have been discovered, find an echo among the workers abroad, a response to their provocations.

It was the P.O.U.M., the Trotskyites, who for months on end fraternized with the rebels on the Aragon front; it was they who, while the enemy was developing his offensive in the North, were provoking an uprising in Catalonia, and who ruptured the front in the East by aiding the plans of Franco when the latter tried to force his way to the Mediterranean.

And this leprosy of the peoples has also taken a hold in France. First there is the traitor Doriot, who no longer even troubles to wear a mask, and who recently went to invaded Spain to prostrate himself before the butchers of our people.

There are those who like Marceau Pivert are smashing the unity of the Socialist Party by continuing the so-called workers' and peasants' party, which will soon be the rallying point and support of all the traitors, of all the provocateurs who, like Doriot, will cast aside the mask when it can no longer serve their purpose. (*Jeers*).

You must bear in mind that behind certain elements is skilfully concealed the hand of the enemy. We know it, and we are naturally fighting them with all our might. In spite of everything, they are trying to continue their work of demoralizing and disintegrating our forces. But they will not succeed. If they ever try to stab the Republic in the back, we shall crush them without mercy. (*Cheers.*)

PEACE TO THE DECEIVED

But while we are fighting to drive all our enemies from our territory, we know how to distinguish between the traitors and those who have been deceived by the fascist butchers. That is why we communists have approved, and fully approve, the

appeal issued by President Negrin to those who are fighting on the other side but who are beginning to realize that they are nothing but the tools of international fascism, that they are not fighting for a "great and united" Spain, as they were made to believe by the traitorous generals, but rather against the Spaniards, who, arms in hand, are defending the independence of their country, whereas they are serving German and Italian fascism, which is seeking to turn our country into a colony.

That is why from this platform, which has an international repercussion, I turn to the honest Spaniards who are fighting in the camp of opponents and say to them that it is their duty to join forces with us in expelling from the soil of our country the forces of the invader whose hoofs are defiling it. (*Loud applause.*)

We want Spain to belong to the Spaniards, to those Spaniards who desire to live within our democratic Republic under the banner of peace, industry and progress. It is to defend this Republic that our people have taken up arms.

I know that there are numbers of Spaniards who when they see Spain torn to pieces, when they realize what the supposed assistance of Italy and Germany means, clench their fists in despair at the thought that they have been accomplices in this heinous crime, and who are longing for the moment to prove by their actions that in spite of everything they feel the need of vigorously maintaining the liberty and independence of Spain by expelling the invaders.

Across the barriers of hatred, across the frontiers, we appeal to them to fight to defend Spain, to fight to prevent Spain from ceasing to be a free and independent nation. (*Loud applause.*)

But I think it necessary to make it quite clear that this does not mean, cannot mean under any circumstances what some would fain pretend in falsely interpreting the program of the

thirteen points and in confusing the minds of workers and anti-fascists beyond the frontiers. I am referring to those who are trying to make out that the Government of National Unity, the Spanish people, are inclined to capitulate by accepting mediation.

THE CROWS OF DEFEATISM

Mediation ! Who are those who dare to speak of armistice, mediation or capitulation ? Certainly not the men who are daily confronting death in the trenches. Not the workers who are labouring with all their might in the factories. Not the women who are offering their sons and husbands to the war.

It is the crows of defeatism, those who have never had faith in our people, and who, far from the field of battle, lend themselves to the manœuvres and machinations of the enemy. (*Applause.*)

But these capitulators do not represent the will of our people, who despise them profoundly and in whose hearing they would never dare to talk of such mediation.

As to those who honestly believe it possible to end the horrors of the war by means of mediation, I consider it necessary to warn them against the manœuvres of their own governments which are in this way serving the policy of Hitler and Mussolini.

WE SHALL DEFEND EVERY OLIVE TREE AND EVERY STONE OF OUR COUNTRY

I can assure you, in unison with the sentiments of our people, that we are prepared to continue the struggle for the triumph of the Spanish Republic as long as we have left a single olive tree to defend, a single yard of soil on which to plant our feet, a single stone to serve as a breastwork. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In order to win our fight we need your aid, for we are fighting not only for the independence of our country but also to safeguard peace. Do not forget that the guns that are destroying our towns are already pointed from the frontiers of Irun and Catalonia against France and democracy.

DEMOCRATS, BUILD A BARRIER AGAINST FASCIST INVASION

Democrats of France, democrats of Great Britain, democrats of the whole world, fight to organize the forces of peace. Compel your governments, in conjunction with the great Seviet democracy, to build a barrier against the insolence of fascism, to prevent it launching against mankind a wave of destruction and barbarity.

Men of liberal minds all over the world, come to our aid. Help us to break the ring with which they have surrounded the Spanish government. Help us to secure for our government the recognition of its right to purchase the arms it needs for the defence of peace. Help us to put a stop to the sinister force of non-intervention, thanks to which the Spanish Republic is deprived of the essential elements for its defence, whereas the enemy is allowed to receive guns, aircraft, machine guns and and munitions of every kind. . . . Demand the immediate withdrawal of the Italian and German fascist forces of occupation. Fight for the opening of the frontiers. (*Loud cheers and cries of "Open the frontiers !"*)

Brothers of Czechoslovakia, we are showing you the way. Brothers of glorious China, carry on the fight.

We Spaniards will not surrender, we will fight on until we have expelled the invader from our soil.

From the trenches of Spain, where the cause of world peace is being defended, thousands of eyes turn towards you in insistent interrogation and await an answer.

I know that you will hearken to the appeal of our people. And meanwhile, echoing the sentiments of our soldiers, our workers, our women and our children today, as on July 18, 1936, putting into my words all the strength of my soul, all the conviction of my enthusiasm, I declare to you that Spain will never be fascist. (*Loud and prolonged cheers lasting several minutes.*)